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UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

**A Comparison of the Religious Outlook and Practices of Two
Generations of Masorti Jews in Israel:
A Bourdieusian Analysis**

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**For the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted, either in the same or different form, to this or any other university degree.

Signature

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Abstract

This study provides a small-scale comparative analysis of the religious outlook and practice of two generational groups of Masorti Jews in Israel. Conducted from an insider perspective, it aims to provide insights into changes of religious outlook and practices between the two generations. The first-generation participants comprised immigrants from North America whereas the second-generation participants were born and raised in Israel. Its results are meant to inform and support the future development of Masorti Judaism in Israel while also making an original contribution to sociological knowledge about the lived experiences of religiously motivated migrations from a generational perspective.

The research adopts a pragmatic, predominantly qualitative approach, utilizing the Bourdieusian concepts of habitus, doxa, field, and capital to better understand how religious outlook and practices were sustained and transmitted across generations. The use of the Bourdieusian theory has provided a framework for structuring and conceptualizing day-to-day behaviors, actions and statements, as presented in the interviews, and for developing an analysis of the different fields which each generational group encountered, the ways that different forms of capital were valued and transformed, and how this affected interviewees' habitus. Data were gathered from interviews with nine members of the first generation and eight members of the second generation. The data relating to second generation participants were ultimately supplemented by a short questionnaire completed by thirty additional members of the same generation.

The Bourdieusian analysis has provided a holistic approach that illuminated important differences in religious outlook and practices between the generational groups. The first generation group had generally tried to maintain the religious outlook and practice with which they came to Israel. They also created new congregations and institutions to sustain and perpetuate them. The second-generation participants displayed a reduced commitment to Jewish law and religious-communal structures. Both generational groups shared a strong commitment to Jewish activism as a feature of their Jewish outlook, although this outlook was carried out in different ways.

Glossary

Aliyah (olim) - *Aliyah* - literally "ascent", is a Hebrew term describing immigration (or ex-patriot return) of Jews to the land of Israel. The opposite action (emigration of Jews out of Israel) is called *yerida* - descent. Aliyah is a term with ideological connotations, with its literal meaning of ascension or rising up suggesting a progression upwards in terms of material and spiritual consciousness. An early mention of the concept "aliyah" is found in the Old Testament, where the sons of Jacob who had come from Egypt to Canaan to bury their father are described as "those going up" (Gen. 50:14, Hebrew Bible, *my translation*).

Birkat Hamazon - The Grace after Meals, a set of Hebrew blessings whose recitation Jewish *halachic* [see entry "halacha" below] law prescribes following a meal that includes bread or matzoh. Birkat hamazon is typically read to oneself after ordinary meals, and often sung aloud on special occasions such as the Shabbat and festivals.

Gemara – A central text of Rabbinic Judaism. A component of the Talmud, comprising rabbinical analysis of and commentary on the Mishnah, the first major written redaction of the Jewish oral traditions. After the Mishnah was edited (c. 200 CE), the work was studied exhaustively by generation after generation of Jewish scholars in Mesopotamia and the Land of Israel. Their discussions were written down in a series of books that became the Gemara.

Halacha - The collective body of Jewish religious laws derived from the Written and Oral Torah. It includes the 613 *mitzvot* ("commandments"), and subsequent Talmudic and rabbinic law. Halacha guides not only religious practices and beliefs, but also numerous aspects of day-to-day life. Halacha is often translated as "Jewish law," although a more literal translation might be "the way to behave" or "the way of walking." The word derives from the Hebrew root for "to behave" (also "to go" or "to walk").

Halutzim - Hebrew for pioneers. A term of reference used to describe the Jewish migrants-turned-farmers who settled the frontiers. The embodiment of Zionism's spirit.

Haredi Judaism - A broad spectrum of groups within Orthodox Judaism, all characterized by rejection of modern secular culture. Its members are often referred to as ultra-Orthodox in English. *Haredim* (Hebrew plural for haredi) regard themselves as the most religiously authentic group of Jews, although this claim is contested by other Jewish streams. Haredi Judaism first emerged in response to the sweeping changes brought upon the Jews in the modern era: emancipation, the Haskalah movement, acculturation, secularization, religious reform in all its forms from mild to extreme, and the rise of the Jewish national movement,

Kaballat Shabbat - A prayer composed of a series of psalms or *piyyutim* recited in the synagogue on the Sabbath eve, and marking the beginning of the Sabbath.

Kashrut - The set of Jewish religious dietary laws. Food that may be consumed according to halacha (Jewish law) is termed kosher, meaning "fit" (fit for consumption). Among the numerous laws that form part of kashrut are the prohibitions on the consumption of pork, shellfish, most insects, and the combination of meat and milk in one meal.

Kiddush – Literally "sanctification". A blessing recited over wine or grape juice to sanctify the Shabbat and Jewish holidays. Additionally, the word refers to a small repast held on Shabbat or festival mornings after the prayer services.

Kotel - The Western Wall, or the Wailing Wall - an ancient limestone wall in the Old City of Jerusalem. It is a relatively small segment of a far longer ancient retaining wall that was originally erected as part of the extension of the Second Jewish Temple by Herod the Great, which resulted in the encasement of the natural, steep hill known to Jews and Christians as the Temple Mount. The Kotel is considered the holiest place for Jews. It has been a site for Jewish prayer and pilgrimage for centuries.

Mechitza - A partition separating men and women in synagogues, especially Orthodox ones.

Menorah - A nine-branched candelabrum lit during the eight-day holiday of Chanukah. On each night a new candle is lit.

Mezuzah - A sacred object that Jews affix to the doorpost at the entrance to their homes and on the doorposts of rooms in the house.

Minyan - The quorum of ten Jewish adults required for certain religious obligations. In the traditionalist streams of Judaism only men may constitute a minyan; in more modern streams women are also counted.

Mishnah - the first major written redaction of the Jewish oral traditions known as the "Oral Torah". It is also the first major work of Rabbinic literature. The Mishnah was redacted at the beginning of the third century CE.

Musaf - The prayer recited on those days when it had been customary to make a sacrifice in the Temple, i.e., an additional sacrifice beyond the daily offering. This prayer, therefore, is recited on Shabbat, on the holidays, and on the Beginning of the Month (*rosh hodesh*).

Rosh Hashanah - The Jewish New Year. It is the first of the Jewish High Holy Days, specified in Lev. 23:23-32, which usually occur in the early autumn in the Northern Hemisphere. Rosh Hashanah is a two-day festival.

Seder (Passover Seder) - The Seder night is the first night of Passover, on which one sits at the table with the family to read the *hagadah* of Passover, which recounts the Israelites' exodus from Egypt.

Shabbat observance - Shabbat is Judaism's day of rest and seventh day of the week. Shabbat observance entails refraining from work activities, often requiring great rigor, and engaging in restful activities to honor the day. According to halacha (Jewish religious law), Shabbat is observed from a few minutes before sunset on Friday evening until the appearance of three stars in the sky on Saturday night. Shabbat is ushered in by lighting candles and reciting a blessing. The halacha prohibits doing any form of work on Shabbat, except for during emergencies. Different streams of Judaism view the prohibition on work in different ways.

Siddur - The siddur is a Jewish prayer book, containing the daily prayers in their established order.

Talmud - The collection of post-biblical writings; a central text of Rabbinic Judaism. The Talmud has two components: the Mishnah (c. 200 CE), a written compendium of Rabbinic Judaism's Oral Torah, and the Gemara (c. 500 CE), an elucidation of the Mishnah and related Tannaitic writings that often ventures onto other subjects and expounds broadly on the Hebrew Bible. "Talmud" translates literally as "instruction" in Hebrew, and the term may refer to either the Gemara alone, or the Mishnah and Gemara together.

Tefillin – A set of small black leather boxes containing scrolls of parchment inscribed with verses from the Torah. They are worn by observant Jews during morning prayers except for on Shabbat or on certain festivals.

Torah - the central reference of the religious Judaic tradition. It has a range of meanings, but usually stands for the first five books of the bible - Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. The Hebrew word "torah" means instruction,

and as such it offers a way of life for those who follow it; the term can refer to the continued narrative from Book of Genesis and on, and it can even mean the totality of Jewish teaching, culture, outlook and practice. Common to all these meanings, Torah consists of the foundational narrative of Jewish peoplehood: their call into being by God, their trials and tribulations, and their covenant with their God, which involves following a way of life embodied in a set of moral and religious obligations and civil laws (halacha).

Weekly Portion - The Torah, as the name given to the first five books of the Hebrew Bible, is divided into 54 portions, roughly equivalent to the number of weeks in the Jewish lunar year. The purpose of the division into weekly portions is the enabling of a continuous recitation, in order, of the whole Torah, every year. It is customary to recite each week's portion in the synagogue every Shabbat, to study and to interpret it.

Yamim nora'im - The High Holy Days, the holidays of Rosh Hashanah ("Jewish New Year") and Yom Kippur ("Day of Atonement").

Yom Kippur - A holy day, considered the holiest day in the Jewish year. The focus of the day is repentance and atonement. Jews are required to fast on this day, along with several other religious obligations.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study is concerned with the intergenerational transmission of religiosity, as experienced and reported by interviewees from the first two generations of Masorti-Jewish immigration to Israel. This religiosity is conceptualized as (and separated into) “religious outlook” and “religious practice”, and is analyzed using a Bourdieusian theoretical framework focussed on different types of capital, habitus, field and doxa. In Israel, Masorti Judaism is a small denomination, its early members having immigrated from North America in significant numbers only since the late 1960s. This study has utilized data gathered from two groups from this population – one of Masorti people who immigrated from North America in the late 1960s or the 1970s, and a second cohort of people their children's age, mostly Israeli-born, whose parents had immigrated at the same time and from the same background as the members of the first group.

This research was both motivated and complicated by the fact that I serve as the director general of the Masorti Movement in Israel. On the one hand, my interest in the intergenerational transmission of religiosity among this population is not merely intellectual, but also practical, as it should help inform policy decisions by the movement, to better meet the needs of members. This stems from my professional concern about young Masorti Israelis’ (i.e., second generation Masortis) apparently very limited involvement with Masorti religious life in Israel. On the other hand, I recognize the risk of my becoming too involved, both with the topic itself and in relationships with the interviewees, to maintain appropriate researcher distance. I will address these issues in detail in what follows under the more general discussion of the conduct of research on religiosity as an insider researcher.

This study’s research questions relate to 1) the intergenerational transmission of and continuity of values, especially religious values, between individuals of the first and of the second generational groups of Masorti immigrants in Israel, as well as the transmission of religious practices, considered separately; 2) how to account for the differences between the two generational groups; 3) the ultimate suitability of Bourdieusian theory for the phenomena under consideration: The research takes a

pragmatic, constructivist approach, drawing on Bourdieusian concepts to analyze how religious outlook and practices were sustained and transmitted across generations. Bourdieu's theoretical approach was chosen because of the breadth of the manifestations of religious life it allows to cover, in seeking to explain their intergenerational transmission, and because of its suitability to analyzing the conflicts and tensions existing within society, which are especially conspicuous in the relations between resident members of the religious-denominational majority and immigrant arrivals with unfamiliar interpretations of Judaism.

The current chapter argues for a conception of Masorti Jews in Israel as pioneers, discusses my positionality in this research, and offers a preliminary discussion of the appropriate ways of conceptualizing religiosity, for the study's purposes – whether it is to be understood as an expression of identity, as an antithesis to secularism, or as something that resists conceptualization and manifests more or less spontaneously. This is followed by a preliminary presentation of the research design, a discussion of the research's proposed relevance - in informing the development of Masorti Judaism in Israel and in adding to sociological knowledge about the lived experience of religiously-motivated migrations and intergenerational transmission of religiosity. I also offer a note on the terminology adopted in the study, before the structure of the study as a whole is presented.

1.1 Masorti Jews as Pioneers

Halutzit, or Pioneering, has been a salient theme throughout the development of the State of Israel (Avineri, 1980). The ideological commitment and powerful emotional investment characteristic of the Masorti Jews who immigrated to Israel from North America between 1967 and 1977 has something in common with the experience of the early *halutzim* (pioneers. See Glossary) in Israel's pre-history. These *halutzim* had arrived in Mandatory Palestine from Russia in the late 1800s, setting themselves the task of building the Jewish homeland. They set out to drain swamps, to create settlements in remote, fallow areas, and to create an infrastructure of social services (Shapira, 2007). From the picture Schweid (1981) paints there emerges the sense of a collective experience of a deep connection to Jewish history, and of partnership in shaping the Jewish future. The ideological motivations, of the Masorti Jews arriving in Israel in the late nineteen-sixties and in the seventies, as emerging from the interviews

conducted for this study, were similar, though the reported aims differed. Much as the earlier halutzim had done before them, these people left behind their homes, mother tongue, occupations and proximity to family in order to immigrate to a country where they believed their identity as Jews could be more complete. Their pioneering activity expressed itself, we might say, as a linking of self to a broader historical movement.

In terms of social creativity, Tabory (1992) describes how these 20th century Masorti immigrants, as a group, brought to Israel a form of Judaism almost unknown there before their arrival. Tabory further points out that the two liberal Jewish denominations - Reform and Masorti-Conservative; predominant within North American Jewry - were nominally present, in Israel before the influx of these immigrants, but neither had until then possessed an active organizational framework or a strong presence within the larger society.

First-generation interviewees in the current study report having felt, following their immigration, specific spiritual needs, which neither secular Jewish society nor Orthodox Jewish communities in Israel could meet. Such particularized, un-institutionalized expressions may be profitably comprehended by the notion of “lived religion”, the strengths of which have been compellingly argued for by McGuire (2008). As I will demonstrate in the following chapters, they felt compelled, due to their unmet religious needs, to establish their own religious communities. The work required to establish such communities, as well as other Masorti institutions, can be said, in this respect, to have constituted a form of religious pioneering.

1.2 My Personal Relation to the Subject:

I am pursuing the current research under the constructivist research paradigm, which will be described in more detail in Chapter 4. The significance of this can already be seen, however, in this approach’s recognition of the researcher’s positionality as inevitably affecting the research and requiring reflexivity to prevent this influence from becoming disproportionate. It is in light of this that it is important for me to note that I have been serving as the Director-General of the Masorti movement in Israel for over nine years. I have not, however, arrived at this position from a Masorti background. I was born in Israel and raised in an Israel secular, or *hiloni* household. I owe my

acquaintance with Masorti Judaism to the three years I spent as an emissary of the Jewish Agency,¹ directing an Israel Center in Tucson, Arizona.

I had grown up in a society where a perception had slowly developed of a dichotomy between Jews who identified themselves as ‘dati’, or religious, and those who identified as ‘hiloni’, or secular (Ravitzki, 1997. As I will discuss further on in this chapter, the complex realities of religious outlook and practice would not necessarily correspond to the dichotomizing identifications as either ‘dati’ or ‘hiloni’). My encounter with multi-faceted American Jewry, with its diverse expressions of Jewish religiosity and various denominations, was, for me, a revelation. In my youth, Jewish religious life seemed inseparable from Orthodox Judaism. I experienced Orthodoxy, however, as a system of stringent observance and severe restrictions. Its separation of men and women in the synagogue and daily commitment to prayer and worship, were far removed from my personal inclinations and from my family's lifestyle. However, in Arizona, at a relatively late stage of life (my wife and I were in our early thirties, with a young child), I encountered for the first time a different version of religious Judaism - one I found to be open and accepting, non-coercive and not in conflict with the lifestyles of most of its members. We became familiar with both Masorti and Reform Judaism and found both forms intriguing as well as engaging. The synagogue, which, though serving as the principal focus of religious worship and identity for Jews for many generations, had also seemed repellent to our parents’ generation during our childhoods, now became, for us, a pleasant and meaningful refuge for worship and contemplation, providing a renewed focus and setting for feeling Jewish. I felt at the time that this significantly enriched my way of life as a Jew and powerfully influenced the way I wanted to bring up my child. It also made me begin to question the ostensible dichotomy between secularism and religiosity, in the Israeli Jewish context and in general, and to think about the significance of these definitions in questions of religious outlook and religious practice. By this I mean, respectively, the set of ideas and values defining one’s approach towards a certain topic and the day-to-day behaviours that are the product or reflection of this outlook. I realized that I, a "hiloni" Jew was able to have a Jewish religious outlook and sense of religiosity.

¹ A sizeable NGO working to assist immigration to Israel and to support Jewish education in communities throughout the Diaspora.

Later on, having returned to Israel, upon ultimately undertaking my professional position as director general of the Israeli Masorti movement, I began to familiarize myself with the Masorti camp's strengths and weaknesses in Israel and abroad. The issue of the Israeli movement's continuity grew to become my principal concern. The sustainability of the movement seemed under threat by institutional and socio-demographical realities. Until today, the non-Orthodox Jewish religious denominations have not succeeded in gaining legal recognition or acceptance by the Israeli government. Nor have they been embraced by the wider Israeli Jewish populace. Particularly troubling to me was the fact that the Masorti movement, although bigger than the Reform movement in Israel, remains very far removed from the mainstream perception of what constitutes Judaism in Israel (Herman and Cohen, 2013). A partial, plausible explanation may be that this was the effect of the government's comparatively meager state funding for the movement².

However, a comprehensive answer to the question of the viability and continuity of the Masorti Movement must also confront the reasons why the vast majority of its founding generation's sons and daughters appear, from my perspective in this professional role, to have chosen not to maintain Masorti lifestyles on a consistent basis. I suspected that this lower level of involvement had to do with the life circumstances influencing these young people - children of immigrants who lived in a society where the intergenerational transmission of religious Jewish identity was complicated by the long-standing tension between religion and state - rather than with a weakened sense of Masorti-religious identity on their part. My desire to see if this intuition was correct was my primary motivation for this proposed research project.

I would argue that the amassment of a significant body of knowledge on the establishment, growth and development of Masorti Judaism in Israel is likely to be productive for scholars of religion and society as an example of religious identity in times of transition. I believe this study serves as a valuable contribution to the sociological literature on religiously motivated immigration and intergenerational

² There is no separation between church and state in Israel, but for historical reasons having to do with legislation from the first years subsequent to the establishment of the state, only Orthodox institutions receive budgetary support and governmental recognition (Cohen and Zisser, 2003). -

dynamics in the question of religious identity, as well as being timely in its importance for the Masorti movement in Israel, with its own immediate organizational needs.

1.3 Understanding Religiosity

This study was inspired by an interest in Masorti practitioners' religious identity. However, in the current work I decided to forsake the terminology and methodology of identity studies, electing instead to speak of "religious outlook" and "religious practice", as they seem more helpful in seeking to understand the patterns of religiosity investigated in this study. I explain below how I have reached this decision, through an examination of scholarly literature on identity, radical critiques of the notion of "identity" and of the dichotomy between religiosity and secularism, and McGuire's (2008) call to investigate "lived religion", on its own terms, rather than through an over-reliance on what can often become reified theoretical terminology.

1.3.1 Religion and Identity

As I have already suggested, an important preliminary concern in this study is the question of religious identity - how it relates to what it might mean "to feel" Jewish and the ways in which this feeling or self-perception can be said to affect individual and collective conduct within society. A consideration of issues relating to the study of identity would therefore seem to be very important for this work. However, as the following discussion will show, the analytical concept of identity is plagued by theoretical problems, that suggest the need for an alternative vocabulary. This has led me to ultimately substitute two elements that together seemed to constitute a person's religiosity - outlook, the way in which one's set of religious values are defined, and practice, the day-to-day behaviour and actions that are related to one's religious values.

The subject of personal identity may be considered through a variety of analytical approaches, some of which contradict one another, while others may be regarded as mutually complementary. Lawler (2014) provides an overview of a number of approaches to this topic. The examples that she offers are all compatible with her argument that it is important to maintain a critical conception of identity as socially constructed, rather than as arising from within the person. This must be kept firmly in mind even while recognizing the profound influence on society of social actors'

essentialist, unproblematized perceptions of their own identities. Thus, for Lawler, identity as an analytic concept refers to a phenomenon that is exceedingly fluid in its manifestations, but is typically perceived as fixed in the eyes of social agents themselves:

It is clear that there is a fundamental instability at [identity's] heart; but... as analysts, we cannot simply overlook attempts on the part of social actors to make it seem [fixed], to suppress and cover over cracks and instabilities (Lawler, 2014, p. 7).

Within the current study group, even interviewees' own descriptions of self-identity seemed to be characterised more by fluidity than by fixity, which would seem to suggest a certain analytical weakness of the term "identity" for the current context. Still, notwithstanding the fact that within analytical sociological discourse the uses of the term "identity" are context-based and changeable, Lawler (2014) contends that the apparently disparate phenomena described by it generally share certain common characteristics: a significant tendency to public manifestation (for such "collective" identities as race, gender, class, sexuality, etc.), and the psychological reality of a personal, reflexive sense of self (the more complex and elusive "individual" or personal identities). In this way, disparate conceptions of identity all share the notion of its comprising a particular external as well as an internal orientation, which may at times converge.

One such negotiation between collective belonging and individualist assertion is found, as described by Lawler (2014), in Doniger's notion of "self-impersonation" (Doniger, 2005), which describes the process of "achieving" personal identity through *performativity* - i.e., the improvised, selective assumption of the roles available within the given social and cultural constraints. Lawler illuminates a similar dynamic, of strain between collective belonging and individualist assertion, particularly in her chapters on identity politics and activism, and on kinship studies' mix of family importance and talk of deeply individual genetics, with their assumptions, but also throughout the book.

While there are differences between the various conceptualizations of identity, they all share one presupposition: the assumption of the legitimacy and analytical validity of the term "identity". This presupposition has been challenged by Brubaker and Cooper, in their 2000 article *Beyond Identity*. In recounting the various analytical conceptualizations of "identity", Lawler (2014) emphasizes the fluidity, or "slipperiness" of the term, and the necessity of seeing it as being alternately essentialist

(in the perception of the social agents) and constructivist (in the eyes of the objective, critical analyst), but still insists on the usefulness of using it. Such an analytical approach, which largely characterizes many of the other scholars she discusses, is what Brubaker and Cooper (2000) would define as a “soft” conception of identity, in that it discusses identity as a malleable and fluid concept. They contend, however, that there are methodological pitfalls which inescapably attend the use of the term:

“Identity”, we argue, tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity). We take stock of the conceptual and theoretical work “identity” is supposed to do and suggest that this work might be done better by other terms, less ambiguous, and unencumbered by the reifying connotations of “identity”. We argue that the prevailing constructivist stance on identity - the attempt to “soften” the term, to acquit it of the charge of “essentialism” by stipulating that identities are constructed, fluid, and multiple leaves us without a rationale for talking about “identities” at all and ill-equipped to examine the “hard” dynamics and essentialist claims of contemporary identity politics. . . . If it is fluid, how can we understand the ways in which self-understandings may harden, congeal, and crystallize? If it is constructed, how can we understand the sometimes coercive force of external identifications? (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, p. 1).

In other words, the term “identity” is profoundly implicated in politics, both in principle and in practice, and the very use of it by analysts must constitute the taking of a particular stand by them, or the producing of a prescriptive statement, if it is in fact to meaningfully describe anything. Rejecting the “soft” conceptions of identity as ultimately too ambiguous and polysemic to be useful, they contend that in the very adoption of “identity” as an analytical term, rather than being helped along in describing something that exists, we implicitly reify something that does not, as has been somewhat incautiously done in the past with such terms as “nation” and “race”. Therefore, they say,

Just as one can analyze “nation-talk” and nationalist politics without positing the existence of “nations”, or “race-talk” and “race”-oriented politics without positing the existence of “races”, so one can analyze “identity-talk” and identity politics without, as analysts, positing the existence of “identities”. . . . We should seek to explain the processes and mechanisms through which what has been called the “political fiction” of the “nation” or of the “ethnic group”, “race”, or other putative “identity” can crystallize, at certain moments, as a powerful, compelling reality. But we should avoid unintentionally reproducing or reinforcing such reification by uncritically adopting categories of practice as categories of analysis (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, p. 4).

For Brubaker and Cooper, then, “softness” does not work. Speaking of identity as if it were, in actuality, even just partially reified, is comparable to speaking of race as if it were partially concretized. Brubaker and Cooper would, instead, disregard the issue of the existence or inexistence in the outside world of “identities”, and move “beyond identity” into the question of the particular mental processes characterizing individuals: What are the processes which induce persons to act in what an undisciplined, un-analytical observer might see as a straightforward manifestation of their “identity”?

For the present study, with its emphasis on the religious orientation of individuals, such a shift in focus, from unproblematicized “identity” to mental processes, would seem both feasible and beneficial. It is, in fact, precisely Masorti practitioners’ thoughts and feelings and their relation to religious conduct that is under consideration here, rather than the question of any religious identity, which, for these reasons, risks becoming a distraction from and reification of the issues. This study therefore adopts a focus on what is explicitly recognized as individuals’ religious outlook and religious practice. In using these terms, I mean to suggest an alternative approach to “identity” analysis, in attempting to understand persons’ self-perception and group belonging. In “religious outlook”, I refer generally to the system of beliefs and values stemming from the tradition and principles of the Jewish religion. In “religious practice”, I refer to the practical aspects of religious-Jewish life, as stemming from the *mitzvot* and the world of faith. It is in this context that the analytical framework of Pierre Bourdieu has been found to be particularly fruitful.

1.3.2 Secularization and Religiosity

Even if we discount or problematize the “identity” component of “religious identity”, it remains important that we consider the other half of the expression - the question of religiosity. This is especially important in light of the crucial role of ideological secularism in modern Zionism, as described by Avineri:

Zionism is not the result of a linear, progressive development from religious-Jewish messianic longing. It is a modern and revolutionary ideology, signifying a clear break from the passivity of the religious-messianic faith holding that redemption could only come through divine intervention in the working of world

history. Moses Hess and Pinsker, Herzl and Nordau, Borochoy and Jabotinsky³ - all have come from the secularized Jewish intelligentsia (Avineri, 1994, p. 18, *my translation*).

In recapitulating the sociological debate on secularization, Fox (2005) begins by noting that the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the word “secularization” as principally to do with institutional change, i.e., with religious decline in the public arena. In contrast to this, there is the term “secularism”, which may be understood as describing individuals’ secular convictions, or as the assertion of religious decline in the private arena. This distinction is emphasized by Fox because of her contention that the different meanings were conflated by some scholars, some of which, like Peter Berger (1969, pp. 107-8) even explicitly or implicitly disputed that secularization could happen only in culture or society and not within personal consciousness⁴.

Fox (2005) establishes that the debate is as old as the sociology of religion, originating in its earliest thinkers - Max Weber (1864-1920) and Emile Durkheim (1858-1917). Weber (1930), influenced by Enlightenment-era beliefs in an inevitable rational progress, on the one hand, but also by the radical criticism of Marx and Nietzsche, adopted an ambivalent attitude towards rationalization as it related to religiosity. He saw rationality’s inexorable advance as destined to lead to a “disenchantment” with religion, such that it would lose its public authority, and be relegated to private life only. In this way, if we adopt the terminology Fox has suggested, Weber envisioned an eventual reality of complete “secularization” but not of “secularism”. Durkheim (1912), in contrast, felt that religion’s public standing was much more stable. To his mind, religion’s inherent function was as a promoter of social solidarity, which rendered it structurally inseparable from society. Its particular forms and symbols might change

³ Moses Hess (1812-1875), a French writer, was one of the founders of socialist Zionism. Leon Pinsker (1821-1891), a political activist from Odessa, founded and led the Zionist movement Hovevei Zion. Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), an Austro-Hungarian journalist, founded the World Zionist Organization and is popularly conceived of as “the visionary of the state”. Max Nordau (1849-1923), an intellectual and social critic from Pest, was co-founder of the World Zionist Organization with Herzl. Ber Borochoy (1881-1917), a subject of the Russian Empire, was an important Socialist Zionist leader. Ze’ev Jabotinsky (1880-1940), a Russian-born Revisionist Zionist leader, was an important right-wing figure in the Jewish community of Mandatory Palestine.

⁴ Berger would ultimately change his mind, arguing that he and his colleagues writing in the 1960s were wrong to consider a process of secularization as having occurred in the Western world (Berger, 1997, p. 974).

over time, but its basic function would remain, with periodic secularization being merely a part of a cyclical process; an ebb and flow of religiosity.

Fox (2005) argues that the influences of both Weber and Durkheim can be seen in the contemporary debate about secularization, which began with Wilson's 1966 study *Religion in Secular Society*. Fox describes Wilson as having followed Weber in asserting a decline in the social influence of religion in the 20th century, especially in the United States and the United Kingdom, following Weber too in attributing this decline to the secularizing influence of the Protestant ethic. Fox notes, however, that in later works, Wilson clarified that he was asserting a decline in the public manifestations of religion, and not necessarily in the private ones, and that while his work was influential, it was challenged on various methodological and empirical grounds. It was, however, also taken up by such prominent scholars as Bruce (as in his work from 1995)

Fox (2005) then describes Stark and Bainbridge's work as presenting a prominent alternative to Wilson's analysis, describing their model (as presented in Stark, 1985) as based on the notion of "religious economies". Stark and Bainbridge held that social interaction in general proceeded according to an economic logic, attempting to increase social benefits and reduce social costs. Within this system, religion could offer benefits that were simply unattainable through a scientific outlook. However, once religious organizations were rationalized, they would lose their supernatural credibility, and the benefit that they offered to their believers would lessen. The religious demand by consumers, however, remains essentially stable (in the level of consumer desire, if not in the specific manifestation), and new religious forms and institutions would arise to better supply. Against Wilson's claim for a linear decline in cultural and social religiosity, Stark and Bainbridge described a more Durkheimian, cyclical process of alternate decline and growth in religiosity within society and specific religious organizations, according to the vacillations of supply and demand. An important implication of this analysis is that secularization, rather than being perceived as a recent arrival - on the wings of modernization and science - was instead seen as a very old phenomenon, concurrent with religiosity as such and an important part of the social mechanism that kept it relevant, in stimulating adaptive changes in the supply chain of the religious economy (Stark, 1985, p. 302). Writing with Iannaccone (1994), Stark would go as far as disputing the common claim that the Middle Ages constituted a "golden age of faith". Stark and Iannaccone claim that Europeans had been less

interested in religion then than they were in contemporary times (i.e., there obtained a reality of widespread “secularism”, in Fox’s aforementioned sense of individual lack of interest in religion, despite and indeed because of the medieval competition-suffocating religious monopoly).

Hanson’s (1996) review of the debate, as described in Fox (2005), found serious flaws in both Stark and Innaconne’s camp and in Bruce’s (who followed Wilson’s modern-era secularization thesis), having to do with terminological confusion, uncritical and incautious use of sources (especially the historical ones), and neglect of the causal aspect in their accounts, finding that both parties tended to simply reassert the basic explanatory model rather than elaborating on its details. Finally, she found that both camps equated Christianity with religiosity in general, neglecting thereby non-Christian religious expressions. In line with this last criticism, a third, more recent approach to the question of secularization has been emerging, with scholars such as Davie (1994) rejecting as simply irrelevant the discussion on the decline or stability of some ostensibly monolithic religiosity. Instead of limiting itself to a discussion of the established form of religion, this approach thus adopts descriptions of religious diversity and fragmentation as more useful for understanding the contemporary, pluralistic religious landscape.

The last of the approaches discussed, focusing on religious diversity and fragmentation, seems to me to indeed be the most compelling. Assertions of changes in the internal dynamics of religiosity are much easier to justify than generalisations about the wholesale weakening of religion, when religion itself is so notoriously difficult to define. In the absence of a straightforward and comprehensive rejection by persons of the religious tenets underpinning the surroundings in which they live, I think it makes more sense to conceive of their deviations from established forms of religiosity as evidence of religious change or fragmentation, than to hurry to characterize it as actually irreligious. I do not think, however, that this necessitates completely doing away with Stark’s “religious economies” idea. In the first place, this model remains compatible with the description of religious fragmentation and diversity, in that it does not make far-reaching claims about the inevitable future trajectory of societal religiosity. It is true that its economic reasoning might fall short of constituting a comprehensive explanation of the dynamics of religious change, but I would contend that it would be rash to discount the analytical utility of considering the needs and interests of the individuals, especially

when concerned with societies where persons have freedom of choice in the matter of religious expression. Pierre Bourdieu offers a somewhat analogous, economically-inspired model for the explanation of social conduct, which I believe can plausibly explain such religious change. An important corollary of these economically-inspired models is that they militate against the tendency to conceptualise religious change as religious decline. “Secularization” can thus be understood not as a weakening of religiosity but as a transformation of it.

However, if the notion of “secularization” ought to be problematized, the same is true of religiosity itself, as has been cogently argued by McGuire (2008), with her argument in favour of the conceptualization of “lived religion”.

1.3.3 Researching Lived Religion

As a sociologist of religion, McGuire (2008) is troubled by the inadequacy for analytical practice of using the conventional, institutionally-grounded definition of religion in order to understand individuals’ experience of their own religiosity. She objects on analytical, methodological grounds to the societal tendency, often manifested by religious practitioners themselves, to see a person (or oneself) as belonging to one sect or religion and therefore by definition not to any others, or alternately to not be manifesting religiosity in the conventional way and therefore to be automatically deemed irreligious. On the contrary, she argues, religiosity is an intensely personal, incredibly fluid, and above all practically-determined experience, easily accommodating inconsistencies and incoherence. McGuire notes that this kind of incoherence is likely to trouble the analyst with his or her preference for neatly differentiated categories, but does not appear to sufficiently trouble the religious practitioners themselves as to actually determine and order their religious conduct in a neater way (McGuire, 2008, pp. 11-29). McGuire cautions, however, that this incoherence or individualized fluidity of lived religion does not mean we should see it as being arbitrary, in the sense of being subjectively determined:

Although lived religion pertains to the individual, it is not merely subjective. Rather, people construct their religious worlds together, often sharing vivid experiences of that intersubjective reality (McGuire, 2008, pp. 23-4).

Even “lived religion”, then (as opposed to merely institutionally defined religion), cannot really be called religion unless it takes its form within and against the backdrop

of a society or a community. McGuire grants a privileged place, therefore, to the embodied or socialised manifestations of religion, as prioritised over its strictly axiological aspects, institutional definitions, or even the claims of individuals about themselves:

Lived religion is *constituted by the practices* people use to remember, share, enact, adapt, create, and combine the stories out of which they live. And it comes into being through the often-mundane practices people use to transform these meaningful interpretations into everyday action. Human bodies matter, because those practices - even interior ones, such as contemplation - involve people's bodies, as well as their minds and spirits. (McGuire, 2008, p. 132, original emphasis).

For McGuire, the emphasis on the “practical” aspects of religion means an emphasis not merely on their social embeddedness, but a focus on how this is manifested in individuals’ bodies and emotions, rather than the “cognitively” formulated manifestations of values and beliefs. McGuire (2008) thus follows Hervieu-Leger (2000) in seeing religion as a “chain of memory” linking the members of a faith community with their tradition, involving thereby not merely a cognitive element but also a purely emotional one. This conception would see rituals (which we may understand as religious practice) as not merely symbolic in function, but as having an actual, embodied effect, whether on the individual practitioner or on society at large. This would seem to suggest a conceptual link between rituals and habitus, as orderers of individual and societal behaviour. The effects described by McGuire can be seen in a particularly potent way in the framework of youth movements’ activities, as will be shown in the analysis chapters of this study.

1.4 Introduction to the Research Design and Research Questions

This study is pragmatically oriented, but draws chiefly on qualitative methodology, being based on data gathered from individual interviews with nine members of the first generation of Masorti immigrants in Israel - North American immigrants arriving in Israel in the 1960s and 1970s, and eight members of the second generation of Masorti immigration to Israel. This latter group formed a cohort of young adults born in Israel to first-generation Masorti Jews (but who were, with two exceptions, not the offspring of first-generations participants in this study). The data relating to the second-generation

participants were supplemented by a quantitatively focused questionnaire (see Appendix B) completed by thirty additional second-generation members.

The Bourdieusian concepts of *habitus*, *doxa*, *field*, and *capital* (Bourdieu, 1986) have been used to explore whether, and in what manner, the Masorti-Jewish religious outlook and practices were sustained and transmitted across the generations. The use of Bourdieusian theory provided the central framework for the structuring and conceptualization of the behaviors, actions, opinions and statements presented in the data in a holistic manner, allowing in this way a close look at the intergenerational spread. Bourdieu's concepts offer transferable insights for the understanding intergenerational dynamics in the transmission of religious outlook and practice.

The research questions are as follows:

1. In what ways do the first and second generations of Masorti Jewish immigrants in Israel differ in their religious outlook and practices?
2. How can these differences in religious outlook and practice be accounted for?
3. How does a Bourdieusian analysis illuminate the processes by which religious outlook and practices are sustained and transmitted?

In analyzing the findings, I thus make use of the theoretical framework of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2000), who proposed several basic principles for an understanding of the social order of human beings in their daily lives. The concepts proposed by Bourdieu - especially the concepts of *habitus*, *field*, and the various types of *capital* possessed by the individual (economic, cultural, symbolic, and social capital) - constitute important theoretical tools, in terms of their hyper-critical awareness of the dynamics of social status and power and in their holistic ambitions, as I will explain in detail in Chapter 3. I utilize these for a conceptualization of the components of the Jewish-religious outlook and practices of the Masorti immigrants arriving in Israel in the 1960s and 1970s, and for an understanding of their motivations for establishing Masorti congregations in Israel. I analyze the corresponding aspects in the second generation within the same conceptual framework.

The multiple levels of data generated for this study called for a holistic approach (as described in Smuts, 1926), which would ground the phenomena researched and the findings gathered in an overarching understanding and interpretation of the world. This required a theoretical approach that would allow me to interpret intergenerational

transmission across a wide range of expressions of religious-Jewish life. Bourdieu's concepts provide such an approach, as demonstrated in the Bourdieusian analyses by Brañas-Garza and Neuman (2006) of intergenerational transmission of Catholic religious practice in Spain, and by Jo (2013), of Korean mothers' transmission through home-schooling of life skills helpful for immigration. Beyond this, I find Bourdieu's analytical framework particularly appealing because of its emphases on the significance of power relations within society, its conception of an inherent need of individuals' to be connected to a collective, and the variety of capitals that people bring to the social stage in trying to situate themselves within it.

1.5 Research Relevance and Potential Applicability for the Masorti Movement

From my insider perspective, it seems that the Masorti movement in Israel is in need of critical appraisal regarding its development and future. As Chikli (2004) describes, most of the movement's congregations in Israel were founded by the immigrants arriving in Israel at the end of the sixties and seventies. These people had come together and raised the financial and human resources, and established Masorti synagogues and congregations all over the country, the Masorti movement's youth movement NOAM, the network of TALI schools, and a Masorti rabbinical seminary. These immigrants, writes Chikli (2004), were the people responsible for the establishment of the Masorti movement itself as an umbrella organization in Israel. However, more than thirty years have passed since the Masorti movement, along with its various institutions, was founded in Israel, and despite its subsequent vigorous involvement in Israeli society, in terms of the number of new communities and new members, and public and legal accomplishments, the movement has not reaped the expected harvest from this huge investment in the younger generation. According to the internal organizational data available to me as director general of the movement, these young people, sons and daughters of the founders and members of pioneering congregations - who had, within their homes, been given a Masorti education, and outside it been raised on the NOAM youth movement's ideology - upon reaching adulthood have largely ceased their active involvement in Masorti congregations. My professional encounters with this generational group suggested that they tended to retain a strong sentimental attachment to Jewish tradition and to the movement's youth activities, but not to remain active in

practice or to participate in communal Masorti life. I speculated that this disengagement from communal life indicated a conception, by this second generation, of religious identity as constituted less by religious practice, as in their parents experience, and more by religious outlook.

The findings of this study are therefore useful for an expansion of the academic-theoretical discussion regarding the intergenerational transmission of Masorti Jewish values as well as that of other ideologically and religiously motivated populations. They may also contribute to the establishment by the Masorti movement of a foundation for practical action; the creation of a new vision with substantial ramifications for the Masorti Jewish community in Israel.

This research, then, aims to locate the precise components of the changed manifestations of this particular Masorti form of Jewish “lived” religiosity of the generation comprising the sons and daughters of the ‘founders’, as contrasted with those of their parents. In this, I hope it may provide a reasoned explanation of the phenomenon of intergenerational transmission of Masorti religiosity, and serve the leadership of the movement as it formulates and crystallizes educational, public and budgetary policies in the coming decade.

1.6 Note on Terminology

Where the word Jewish is used in this chapter, it denotes the phenomenon of ‘being Jewish’ in its widest possible sense, i.e., it is used as a generic term, referring to Jews of any and all Jewish affiliations and expressions. I have made sure to specify where I have written about Masorti Jews in particular.

“Masorti Judaism”, in the context of this study, is the denomination of Judaism known in North America as Conservative Judaism. As detailed in the following history chapter, this constitutes one of the largest denominations of world Jewry, a religious stream originating in Germany and developing chiefly in North America at the beginning of the twentieth century. “Conservative” Judaism is thus called because of having come into the world as a conservative reaction to Reform Judaism, which had arisen before it and aimed to effect dramatic changes - too dramatic, in the eyes of the first generations of Conservative Jews - in religious-Jewish outlook and practice. Most Conservative Jews

reside in North America, but this same denomination is known worldwide - excepting North America - as “Masorti”: Masorti Judaism

The word *masoret* in Hebrew means tradition. *Masorti* Judaism, in this sense, is Judaism wishing to maintain tradition. In the Israeli Jewish context, as I will detail in the second chapter, the Hebrew expressions for “traditional (masorti) Judaism” or “traditionalists (masortis)” are used identically in referring to two socio-religious phenomena which are not in fact the same. The first of these refers to Jews who identify with the Masorti Movement, i.e., Jews whose religious outlook is similar to that of Masorti-Conservative Judaism, whether they belong in practice to a Masorti congregation or not. The second use is Jews who are traditional in the simple, non-organized, literal sense of the word *masoret* as “tradition” – Jews who have an affinity to Jewish tradition, but not any particular closeness in outlook, identification or in any other sense to the Jewish denomination known as “Masorti”. In the context of the present study, and in order to prevent confusion, all references to the Masorti-Conservative Jewish denomination, whether in North America or in the rest of the world, take the form of the terms “Masorti Judaism” or “Masorti Jews”.

1.7 Structure of the Study

The current chapter has presented the research focus and motivations, as well as the research questions, the rationale for the choice of Bourdieusian theory and the expected academic, theoretical and practical fruits of the study.

Chapter 2 presents the historical background of the development of Masorti Judaism. This is described against the backdrop of the European Enlightenment of the 18th century and Judaism’s new, reformist trend, and the latter’s arrival with Jewish immigration in North America of the early 20th century. It then describes the historic process of the establishment of Masorti Judaism in North America, as well as the centrality of the State of Israel in Masorti Jewish thought of the second half of the 20th century. This is followed by a description of the relation between religion and state in Israel, a discussion of self-identification in terms of Jewish denominations in Israel, and a concluding account of the developments in the Masorti movement in Israel, in Masorti communities and in Masorti institutions in the country.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of Bourdieu's thought and influences, discusses Bourdieu's approach towards religion, and reviews the Bourdieusian concepts used in this study: field, habitus, doxa and capital. It then discusses the critiques of Bourdieu's sociological model as deterministic, and concludes with an explanation of the way Bourdieu's concepts will be used in the current study's analysis.

Chapter 4 presents an account of the study's primarily qualitative methodology. It discusses the issues involved in being an insider researcher, describes the research design and methods, the conduct of the interviews, the issues involved in translating the interview transcripts from Hebrew, the selection of research participants and their division into two generations, and the methods of data analysis. Finally, this chapter discusses the ethical approval process for this study.

The two subsequent chapters of the study present the data. Chapter 5 discusses the religious outlook of the first and second generations in terms of Zionism, Jewish education, the role of community, and values and beliefs. Chapter 6 focuses on religious practices, the generation groups' common tendency to internal diversity in observance, and the different emphases in observance between the groups as seen in the attitude to Hebrew, in the place of food in religious ritual, in the observance of kosherness and of the Sabbath, in synagogue attendance, in life cycle events, and in raising children, before considering the place of English language proficiency as symbolic capital for both generations.

Chapter 7 provides a Bourdieusian perspective of the differences and similarities in the religious outlook and practices between the first and second generations. It aims to provide a coherent explanation for the extent of the success of intergenerational transmission, via the concepts of social capital in the form of community, cultural capital as expressed in Jewish literacy and religious egalitarianism, the dissonances within the field, doxa's role in the integration of the immigrants in Israel, and social activism as an important feature of both generations' habitus.

Chapter 8 presents the integration conclusions of the study as regards the religious outlook and religious practice of both generational groups, explains how the study contributes to the current state of knowledge and its possible implications for the Israeli Masorti movements as well, and offers final reflections on work as an insider research

and on ways that the current study could have been improved or may be profitably supplemented in the future.

Chapter 2

Historic Background of Masorti Judaism

This chapter provides an overview of the historical development of Masorti Judaism in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, in North America in the 20th century, and in Israel in the years after 1967. The chapter concludes with an appraisal of the relationship between religion and the state in Israel, a discussion of religious-denominational self-identification in Israel, and an account of the development of the Masorti movement in Israel, of Masorti communities and of Masorti institutions.

2.1 Jewish Reformation: Europe of the 18th–19th Centuries

According to Feiner (2002), the roots of the modern self-conception of Jewishness may be traced back to the Enlightenment, a philosophical movement of the 18th century dedicated to the creation of a more scientifically-driven society. He sees this movement as having encouraged integration of Jews into their host societies, in the inspiration it provided for the Jewish movement of the Haskalah. In the context of the Haskalah, he describes Jews being induced to assimilate the knowledge, customs and aspirations of the nations within which they lived.

Feiner elsewhere (2004) describes how, in Western and Central Europe, these processes brought about revolutionary changes in Jewish life, engendering both reformation and secularism. At the same time, and in contrast, in Eastern Europe religious reformation encountered fierce opposition from both the established rabbinic leadership and the new Hassidic movements⁵. Feiner (2004) sees the dynamic born out of these conflicts, persisting for a hundred years, as having given birth to modern European Judaism as we know it.

It is worth noting that Litvak (2012) contests the causal link between the European Enlightenment and the Jewish Haskalah. She would rather locate the Haskalah's antecedents and inspiration in the subversive developments that would in fact, as she

⁵ Hasidism was a social spiritual movement, possessing a strong mystical character, which developed in Eastern Europe in the mid-18th century (Assaf, 2008).

describes it, upend the Enlightenment - Rousseau's and Kant's criticisms of the Enlightenment's optimistic belief in its own promotion of scientific and moral progress. These thinkers' redoubled commitment to radical criticism as a way of life and as an ideology led, in what Litvak characterizes as the 19th century's German Romantic paradigm, to an altered perception of the role of the intellectual:

The Romantic intellectual combined the high spiritual calling of art with a commitment to critical thinking. . . .He was both the guardian and the creator of culture. His work combined a conservative devotion to the past with a radical passion for renovation, a potentially contradictory set of aims reflected in the dynamic understanding of tradition that the Romantics invented and enshrined as the repository of creative genius" (Litvak, 2012, Chapter 2, para. 19).

Thus, the intellectual's role became that of providing transcendent, spiritual significance in a chaotic world, and in this context, Litvak argues, "Maskilim were the bearers of a modern Jewish metaphysics and the founders of a new Romantic religion that would provide a cure for the contemporary decline of Judaism" (Litvak, 2012, Chapter 2, para. 27).

However one might understand the origins of this phenomenon of the Haskalah, it would appear to have had a significant influence on Jewish life, according to Feiner and Bartal (2005). They describe how adherents of the Haskalah called for the abandonment of traditional dress, the Yiddish language, and many common Jewish practices, for the purposes of abolishing external contrasts between Jews and gentiles. They note Germany as providing one very important arena for such changes in Jewish practices and outlook. Rabbinical resistance to these new challenges engendered a new and important Jewish-religious denomination - the Orthodox, as described by Silber (2010). Silber notes as representative of "Hungarian Orthodoxy"'s zealous protectiveness of the old tradition the Hatam Sofer (1762-1839), with his slogan "The new is forbidden from the Torah [see Glossary for "Torah"]" (Silber, 2010, para. 6.). At the same time, in Germany, there emerged a more moderate strain of "modern Orthodoxy", as represented by the figure of Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808-1888), with his slogan of "Torah with

*Derech Eretz*⁶”, who advocated “an organic synthesis between modern culture and tradition” (Silber, 2010, para. 8).

It is against this background that Davis (1951) claims to locate the antecedents of the Masorti movement, in the Judaism of mid-19th century Germany. He describes how the developments in critical-academic thinking, as well the newly secularized national society, had presented a challenge to those Jews who, though inspired by the changes, wanted to retain their faith. One response to this challenge emerged, as Davis describes it, in a group calling itself "the positive-historical school", which adopted an innovative approach to the study of classical Jewish texts - employing the newly developed philological research methods to pursue an understanding of the meanings of the ancient texts in their original contexts.

Meyer (1988) argues that, in its initial stages, the activities of the “positive-historical” school - which he, too, sees as having sown the seeds for the later development of the Masorti movement - may be seen as part of the broader movement of reformation within Judaism. He notes, however, that as the reformation continued, some of its leaders adopted increasingly radically liberal positions in matters of ideology and worship, which ultimately led the leaders of the positive-historical approach to sever contact and to adopt separate ideological, religious and ultimately institutional identities. Writing in the same vein, Horwitz (1984) describes an emblematic moment, in 1845, when Rabbi Zacharias Frankel (1801–1875), one of the leaders of this positive-historical approach, walked out of the reform-minded rabbinical convention that was meeting that year in Frankfurt, because of his opposition to a resolution proclaiming that Hebrew would no longer be the obligatory language of prayer in the synagogue. It may be surmised from this that while Frankel, as a rabbi, theoretician, and noted expert in academic Jewish studies, supported the development and adaptation of Jewish law as based on the needs of the present and the findings of historical scholarship, he remained opposed to changes that he perceived as severe blows to the historical continuity of the Jewish religion. In 1854, Frankel was elected to head a new, modern rabbinical seminary in Breslau, a position of wide influence that he would hold for decades

⁶ Literally “The way of the land”, *Derech Eretz* is an important but ambiguous Jewish-religious term, referring in the present context to full participation in modern society.

(Horwitz, 1984). In Horwitz's evaluation, the Breslau seminary would come to constitute a "golden mean" between the extremes of Reform and Orthodox Judaism.

In contrast to this emphasis on the generative significance of the positive-historical school in Germany, M. R. Cohen (2012, p. 2) notes that the leaders of the Orthodox Union in the late 19th century were initially as supportive of the tenets of the positive-historical school as the forebears of Masorti Judaism would be. He argues, instead, for an understanding of the Masorti phenomenon that is more akin to those which sociologists (such as Weber, 1947 and Dawson, 2011, cited in M. R. Cohen, 2012, pp. 5-6) adopt towards "new religious movements", in the central place attributed to personal charisma of the leadership. His explanation centers, therefore, instead, on the pivotal role in promoting Masorti Judaism of the personality of Solomon Schechter (1847–1915) in 20th century United States, in both direct and indirect influence: The initial growth of Masorti Judaism is attributed by Cohen to Schechter's direct actions as a charismatic religious (and, significantly, American) leader inspiring his followers to believe that they were creating a Judaism that would ultimately unite American Jewry in a "Catholic Israel". Subsequently, in developments occurring after Schechter's death, in the 1950s, Cohen argues that the original personal charisma was "routinized" into an organized movement through an "institutionalization of diversity" (M. R. Cohen, 2012, p. 6) in the United Synagogue of America, which would ultimately become an official arm of the Masorti movement. Whether we accept the consequent diminution by M. R. Cohen of the role of Frankel and the positive-historical school or retain it as an important factor, then, the fact that Schechter had a powerful influence on the development of Masorti Judaism in the 20th century seems well established. I further discuss the activities of Schechter and his followers, as they pertain to religious developments within American Jewry, in the following section.

2.2 Turn of the 20th Century: From Europe to America

Alroey (2008) describes how, during the 19th century, millions of Europeans emigrated to many different destinations around the world, especially to those known as the "New World" - North and South America, Australia, New Zealand, and many dozens of Caribbean and Pacific islands. This migration was immense in scope: 70 million people moved between states during this century, comprising a substantial proportion of the global population at this time, and constituting one of the largest movements of trans-

national migration in world history. Alroey highlights some of the difficulties of European life in the 19th century, at least for the common people, as a causal factor for much of this migration - he describes the burdens of economic distress, religious persecution and frequent epidemics. High mortality rates too may have encouraged many people to seek to escape their overcrowded, destitute home conditions. At the same time, this century saw many dramatic developments and frustrations in the struggles waged by many of the peoples of Europe for individual liberties and equal rights among citizens - perhaps followed by the feeling that this pursuit was not achievable for Europeans in their own countries. All these, argues Alroey, coalesced to drive many people to look beyond the continent for a better future, and many saw the New World as a suitable candidate. He thus locates this 19th century surge of immigration within the larger phenomenon of immigration to the New World and its colonisation, occurring since the early modern era, and while recognizing that the many emigrants would have moved for widely disparate reasons, he asserts a commonality among them in setting off to distant, unknown lands, in the hope of a better life.

Alroey (2008) further describes the new immigrants, especially in North America, as constructing and designing environments similar in character and appearance to those with which they had been familiar in their countries of origin. They founded European-style settlements, which would sometimes bear the names of towns from the old country, they built houses and paved roads in the manner of Europe, and they spread their European religion. Alroey recognizes special features in those European colonists who had settled in the area that would become the United States, especially those arriving from the 19th century. In contrast to the settlers in Latin America, who removed resources back to the old country, settlers in the United States were conspicuous in treating their new landscape, from the outset, as a permanent home, systematically locating new territories for development and colonization. Arriving at the east coast of the country, they gradually expanded colonist-settled territory, spreading their settlements westward across the continent. They laid railroads and other thoroughfares to each newly founded settlement, forming trade and business relations across all of the United States. They utilized the diverse natural resources of the land for the use of their new homeland and for its development. Alroey sees the character of this massive immigrant colonization of the United States as powerfully spurring economic growth in

the country. This extensive growth and development drew further waves of immigration, which in turn spurred further growth.

Out of 35 million European immigrants to the US in the years 1880-1930, more than 2 million were Jews (Kuznets, 1975). Most, according to Alroey (2008), had emigrated from Eastern Europe, where they had suffered poverty and economic hardship, anti-Semitism, pogroms and persecutions. Alroey finds that the United States, founded as it was on the values of freedom of religion and equality, represented a central destination, during the 19th and 20th centuries, for waves of mass immigration of Jews from Europe, who came hoping to find within it opportunities to improve their economic situation, and to find social freedom and religious tolerance. Alroey elsewhere (2007) characterizes Eastern European Jews as being, since the period of the Haskalah, much more conservative in outlook than Western European and American Jews, dressing differently and speaking Yiddish rather than the national languages. They were forced, upon immigration, to contend with a religious world radically different from that which they had previously known. In Eastern Europe, Alroey describes religion having played a central legal role in their civic lives. In North America, in contrast, Jews married and divorced according to state law, and rabbis held no official status.

According to Sklare (1985), American Masorti Judaism's beginnings lay in a decentralized, spontaneous phenomenon, during the early 20th century, of synagogues across the United States reacting to the pressures of Americanized children of Eastern European immigrants. This new generation found Orthodox Judaism too reminiscent of their parents' world, but Reform too radical a break from it. Sklare argues that the centrist compromise espoused by these various synagogues, at the initiative of congregation lay leaders, eventually emerged as the Masorti movement. However, M. R. Cohen (2012) disputes this interpretation, arguing that it underestimates the role of centralized, deliberately planned developments on the national level, and the role of the rabbis of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. This organization, established in New York in 1886, had set itself the task of reconciling two central values: Tradition and change. The Masorti movement formally described itself as similarly oriented in its famous publication of 1958, *Tradition and Change*, which, under the editorship of Mordecai Waxman, featured many classic statements on the spirit of Masorti Judaism by some of the movement's leading spokespersons of the time.

Masorti Jewry in the US owed much of its success in the 20th century, according to Miron (2009), in terms of its institutionalization and its growth, to Solomon Schechter, a Moldavian-born rabbi with an Oxford Ph.D., who had arrived in the US in 1902 to head the Jewish Theological Seminary. Miron describes how the JTS became, under Schechter's leadership, the flagship of academic Jewish studies in North America, and the cornerstone of a nascent Masorti Jewish movement. M. R. Cohen goes further, in fact, as described in the previous section, attributing such a crucial importance to the activities of Schechter, that to his mind the previously mentioned accounts attributing causative effects to the influence of Frankel (see, for instance, Sarna, 2004) or to spontaneous localized developments, are entirely inadequate. To Cohen's mind, the significance of the deliberate, charismatic activities of Schechter in the JTS were decisive; pushing the movement to an intensity of growth it would never otherwise have achieved (M. R. Cohen, 2012, pp. 1-6).

Cohen constructs his argument about the central role of Schechter by, first, noting that there was a considerable degree of overlap, among Schechter's followers within the JTS-affiliated United Synagogue of America, between those identifying as *Conservative* (i.e., as Masorti) and those still identifying, despite their liberal leanings, as *Modern-Orthodox* or even simply as *Orthodox*. Many members preferred political self-definitions, as being alternately on the left or the right wing of the emerging movement, to embracing what would, in later generations, become the sharper distinction between Masorti and Orthodox (M. R. Cohen, 2012, pp. 7-10). In these conditions, then,

The primary distinguishing factor of the emerging Conservative movement was whether or not a rabbi *chose* to identify with the United Synagogue. Thus the organization was an ethnoreligious group, defined by its elastic boundaries and not by its unique attributes. . . . [The United Synagogue] was defined not by its unique attributes but rather by elastic boundaries that would stretch wide enough to encompass virtually anyone who wished to join. . . . Only [those who self-identified with the United Synagogue] were united by deep special bonds and committed to perpetuating Schechter's message as a group. Thus, while the merging Conservative movement may have been creating institutional structures of its own, it was not yet a distinct third movement in American Judaism because it lacked boundaries that distinguished it from Orthodoxy and Reform (M. R. Cohen, 2012, p. 10).

Cohen thus defines a proto-Masorti Judaism based on this ethnoreligious grouping - the disciples of Schechter - which united both the nominally Masorti and the nominally Modern-Orthodox. In his analysis, it was only with the involvement of the next

generation, who had not known Schechter, that Masorti Judaism became a distinct third Jewish denomination. The new developments included adopting a new prayer book and “jettisoning the commitment to Catholic Israel” by forming the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards in 1948, which broke away from Orthodox Judaism by declaring that it would no longer seek its associations’ approbation. In 1950, the committee declared that it was permissible to drive to synagogue and to use electricity on the Sabbath (M. R. Cohen, 2012, pp. 10-14). Thus,

No longer would the emerging Conservative movement be defined by Catholic Israel and a quest for inclusivity; it would now stand on its own. This fundamentally redefined the Conservative movement, abandoning its founder’s [Schechter’s] intentions, as it increasingly became a third, distinct movement in Judaism (M. R. Cohen, 2012, p. 14).

While M. R. Cohen (2012) ultimately sees Masorti Judaism as having stepped out of Schechter’s shadow and pursuing a different direction, he does insist on seeing Schechter as its true founder, with Frankel being adopted as a founder only retrospectively by Masorti historiographers, for rhetorical purposes. For my own part, however, I follow Gordis (2000) in attributing to the academic-intellectual drive and to Frankel a decisive role in formulating the Masorti movement’s essential intellectual and ideological underpinnings: In language that would ultimately become critical for the Masorti movement, Frankel had asserted that the decision to permit worship in a language other than Hebrew was “not [in] the spirit of preserving but of destroying positive historical Judaism” (cited in Gordis, 2000, p. 336):

In framing his departure from Reform this way, Frankel set up what would become both the defining characteristic and the fundamental internal struggle of Conservative [i.e., Masorti] Judaism; he was committed not only to the “permissibility” but indeed the desirability of the academic study of Judaism, but, at the same time, he was unwilling to let the theological or historical questions that arose from this study undermine a commitment to the value of tradition for its own sake. . . . Conservative Judaism shared one important characteristic with Reform and one with Orthodoxy. With Reform, it shared an openness to study Judaism as a historical phenomenon that has changed continuously throughout the ages. With Orthodoxy, however, Conservative Judaism shared a commitment to the ongoing authority of Jewish law, or halacha [see Glossary for “Halacha”] (Gordis, 2000, p. 336).

Thus, I would agree, Frankel had set the tone in distilling the historical-positive approach to the adaptation of halacha, and in his analysis of what would constitute the suitable rabbinical ruling for each generation of Masorti practitioners. Frankel may thus be seen as instrumental in determining the spirit of the Masorti approach. Schechter,

though himself a man of spirit, may be seen as providing a powerful organizational and logistical impetus for the development of the Masorti movement. I would contend that it is not possible to determine which sort of impetus was ultimately more meaningful, and it is perhaps unnecessary. It may be enough to consider that each had his unique sphere of influence.

In the final analysis, as described by Alroey (2007), the passage to the New World and immigrants' desire to be absorbed within it had confronted them - especially immigrants from Eastern Europe - with difficult decisions regarding personal lifestyle and community life. Sabbath observance, with its ban on work and on travel by motor vehicles, is one prominent example of how economic pressures and suburban sprawl combined to thwart the efforts of those who wanted to maintain traditional practices in unchanged forms. Eisen (2010) argues that Masorti Judaism was uniquely positioned to answer these challenges. Reform Judaism, as its main potential competition in this regard, had denied the significance and validity of many commandments, especially those it regarded as ceremonial rather than ethical. This would have made it problematic for many of these East European immigrant communities. The Reform movement also promoted the concept of individual autonomy, emphasizing not communal norms but freedom of choice in religious observance - a radical and potentially alienating concept (Diner, 2015). Masorti Judaism, in contrast, largely retained traditional norms and practices, while still approving such departures from Jewish law and the Orthodox position as the use of automobiles on the Sabbath to enable suburban Jews living far away from a synagogue to still attend it, and the lenient position about the Shabbat use of some electrical appliances (including the telephone, radio, and television. See "Shabbat observance" in the Glossary). These moves, which were the object of much criticism at the time and continue to be today (Golinkin, 1997), may, perhaps, have made available precisely what was needed for many Jews in order to reconnect to their Jewish tradition in a way that would not threaten their lifestyles. The fact is that half a century after Schechter's death, Masorti Judaism would become the largest Jewish religious movement in the United States, with the largest number of congregations throughout the country, an active youth movement (USY), a network of summer camps (Ramah), a strong rabbinical school, and highly-respected affiliated scholars (Eisen, 2010).

2.3 Post-1967: Expansion to Israel

According to Sarna (2004), Israel's victory in the Six-Day War of 1967 had considerable effects on American Jewry. Sarna finds that while American-Jewish discourse, press, and religious life had, until then, been less focused on Israel than on American societal issues and on the enrichment of local Jewish communal life, now, with the State of Israel having successfully faced down an existential threat, Israel took on greater meaning in their internal Jewish agenda. This marked the beginning of a greater emphasis being put on Israel journalistic discourse, in both formal and informal education, and in philanthropy (Sarna, 2004). DellaPergola, Rebhun and Raicher (2000), too, consider the influence of the Six Day War on the Jewish Diaspora as having "straightened their spines" as Jews, engendering a reinforced sense of national pride, with Israel becoming a new source of loyalty and solidarity. In the years following 1967, the rate of immigration to Israel from the US rose dramatically.⁷ Many of these immigrants would have probably belonged to Masorti Judaism, being as it formed the largest denomination in North America at that time (Sarna, 2004).

According to T. Friedman's analysis (1987), the religious needs of the substantial Masorti segment of these immigrants could not be met by the Orthodox synagogues in Israel - these being the predominant ones in the country. The immigrants consequently sought to reconstruct in Israel the Masorti congregations of their previous homes, in their capacities not just as synagogues, but as veritable cultural and educational centers, as well as in their functions as loci of communal social activity. Friedman goes on to discuss how, in the immigrants' previous experience in the US, there had been no official funding for religious institutions. Consequently, as the building of a church, a mosque or a synagogue would, in such circumstances, have required private financing and donations in order to get off the ground, it may be surmised that such a *modus operandi* was subsequently brought across the ocean and put to use in Israel. The fact is that immigrants from the US did take the initiative in establishing congregations and

⁷ According to data from the Jewish Agency, in 1968 more than 30,000 immigrants came to Israel from western countries, and in the following two years the number of immigrants from these countries rose to more than 40,000 each year (JAFI, 1970).

later an umbrella movement - a federation of congregations that is known to this day as the Masorti movement.

2.4 The Israeli Religious Context: Tension Between State and Religion

State-religion relations in Israel, a key factor in this study, were institutionalized prior to the establishment of the state, in 1947, towards the end of the rule of the British Mandate of Palestine (Wasserman, 2002). These institutionalized relations are conventionally known in Israeli political parlance as the "status quo arrangement". Don-Yehiya (1974) locates the origin of this term in a letter sent by David Ben-Gurion, the head of the Jewish Agency, in June 1947 to the head of the religious-Orthodox party Agudath Israel, Rav Yitzhak-Meir Levin, promising Orthodox Judaism a monopoly on Jewish religious services in Israel. The letter was meant to enlist the support of Agudath Israel for the idea of establishing a Jewish state. Don-Yehiya elsewhere (1997) argues that it had sought to allay the concerns of Orthodox leaders, who feared that the establishment of a Jewish state with a straightforwardly secular character would harm the Jewish religion and its institutions, through an imposition of a common core of such secular studies as natural sciences, mathematics and English at the expense of the more traditional Jewish ones. Subsequently, as described by Eilam (2000), ever since the State of Israel's establishment, the "status quo" agreement has continued to guide and determine the relationship between religion and state and between the religious and the secular or hiloni populations. In practice, Eilam holds the arrangement to have reinforced the condition of Orthodox Judaism as the only officially recognized religious-Jewish denomination in the State of Israel. Eilam argues that, to this day, the status quo continues to manifest itself, whether directly or indirectly, in government coalition agreements with the religious parties. I would add, as perhaps noteworthy, that the Chief Rabbinate of Israel, which is Orthodox *de jure*, owns a monopoly on conversion and on the granting of *kashrut* (i.e. kosherness. See Glossary) certificates to restaurants and food factories.

Wasserman (2002) sees the status quo as also implicated in the relationship between the religious and the hiloni publics. In Neuberger's characterization (1997), the hiloni public displays a strong tendency to prefer a strengthening of civil and democratic

rights, while the Orthodox religious community tends to be concerned with the preservation of the religious-Jewish character of the state even at the price of restricting civil liberties. The status quo thus functions as dynamic of give and take.

In addition to granting it exclusive status in official expressions of religiosity, the dominant religious status of Orthodox Judaism in Israel has far-reaching budgetary implications, according to Ilan (2000). Neuberger (1997) notes that the government pays the salaries of thousands of exclusively Orthodox rabbis in the civil service, provides financial support almost exclusively among the Jewish denominations to Orthodox religious education and cultural events, and assists in the building and financing only of Orthodox synagogues. The non-Orthodox Jewish denominations in Israel - Reform and Masorti - are perceived by the Orthodox establishment, in Eilam's final estimation (2000) as irrelevant or even dangerous to the Jewish state.

2.5 Religious Inclinations in Contemporary Israeli Jewry

2.5.4 Religious-self identification in Israel:

Malkin (2000) defines the word *hiloni* (secular), in the Israeli-Jewish context, as denoting a person believing in man as the creator of humanist values such as human dignity, freedom and equality, while disbelieving in God, who he or she holds to have been created by man. A *hiloni* will believe in the application of the values of humanism in the context of Judaism, and in freedom to choose the method of fulfilling one's Jewishness. He or she will believe in the supersession of freely chosen values over *mitzvot*, or commandments; in the primacy of democratic values and humanism over the obligatory commandments of the *halacha*, as founded on what is held to be a non-existent God. Consequently, over the past century or so, *hiloni* Jews have been searching for new ritual expressions for the commemoration of religiously based holidays and life-cycle events, as well as for new ways of structuring these rituals. It is thus, argues Malkin, that many festivals whose traditional religious form has lost its significance in the eyes of *hiloni* Jews has taken on new forms and meanings, in a more national or cultural vein, especially in the context of *hiloni* Zionism.

However, self-identifications as *hiloni* by Israel Jews themselves suggest a different picture to Malkin's atheism. To give one prominent example, in April 2007 Israel's largest daily newspaper, *Yedioth Ahronoth*, published a survey on Jewish religious

identification in Israel⁸. This was a carefully controlled survey, conducted by one of Israel's leading pollsters, and based on a representative sample of 1000 Jews from various sectors of Israeli Jewish society. The survey's findings were almost completely in agreement with the findings of the Guttman Reports, which formed a wide-ranging study that had similarly examined the religious identification of Israeli Jews, with its development over two decades (these reports were published as Levy, Levinsohn and Katz, 1993 and Levy, Levinsohn and Katz, 2002). The first question that the editors of the 2007 Yedioth Ahronoth survey asked was direct; even bold: "Do you believe in God?" 77% of the sampled participants responded yes. 8% answered that they believed in a supreme power. 12% answered no (a further 3% gave different answers). The second question sought to clarify how Israeli Jews defined themselves with respect to contemporary religious-Jewish categories. 50% said that they were "hiloni" (secular); 30% that they were "traditional" (using the Hebrew word "masorti" but referring in this to a general observance of traditions, rather than suggesting involvement with the Masorti movement in Israel); 12% that they were "dati" (religious, usually denoting, in Israeli usage, so-called Religious Zionism, a denomination largely analogous to Modern Orthodox Judaism); 8% answered that they were "haredi" (ultra-Orthodox. See Glossary for "Haredi Judaism").

The two sets of figures are somewhat paradoxical in their implications regarding Jewish religious outlook in Israel. Even if one makes a conservative estimate of these data, one would have to say that "only" 77% of Israeli Jews were seen to believe in God (that is to say, even when we avoid adding the 8% believing in a supernatural power, which would have made a full 85% emerge as debatably non-atheistic). In this case it would still have to be asked, how can it be possible for a full 50% of Israeli Jews to define themselves as secular? Is a "hiloni" Israeli Jew who believes in God or in an analogous power truly secular? And, if so, who (or what) does "hiloni" then signify for Israeli Jews? This question is thrown into sharper relief by the following responses to the survey, regarding what I conceptualize, within the current study, as religious practices: 96% of Israeli Jews said *kiddush* (see Glossary) on the eve of Shabbat (61% "always," 35% "sometimes"), and 84% of Israeli Jews lit Shabbat candles (61% "always", 9%

⁸ Yedioth Ahronoth, 2 April 2007, survey by Dr. Mina Tzemach.

usually" 14% "sometimes"). Many of these would necessarily have been among those defining themselves as *hiloni* in the survey questions.

The survey asked various other questions, but the responses all lead to one inexorable conclusion: Most “*hiloni*” Israeli Jews, if one is to accept the results of these surveys, are not in fact secular, at least not as Malkin (2000) defines it. They would appear to maintain certain forms both of religious outlook and religious practice. Israeli Jews calling themselves *hiloni* do not form a monolithic group that shuns religious practice, and there is certainly no correlation between such self-designation and atheism. The findings of the survey suggest that most “secular” or “*hiloni*” Israeli Jews maintain a strong inclination towards maintaining an attachment to Jewish tradition, both in religious outlook and in religious practice. Tamir (1999) identifies, in fact, a tendency among *hiloni* Israelis to revere the Jewish tradition, and to prefer, as long as it does not threaten their lifestyle in a way that feels coercive, to take an active part in it.

It may be useful, in this context, to refer back to Fox’s (2005) abovementioned distinction (see section 1.3.2 of the current work) between “secularization” and “secularism”, as denoting, respectively (and not necessarily simultaneously), a secularity in public or institutional life in the first case, and a private, personal lack of faith in the latter. Perhaps “*hiloni*” Israeli Jews may be understood, then, as tending to “secularization” in public life but not, particularly, to “secularism” in personal life. This tendency among *hiloni* Israeli Jews appears to have increasingly characterized Israeli society over the years, as reflected both in the aforementioned survey and in the trends noted in the so-called Guttman reports of Levy et al (1993 and 2002). However, this prevailing reality has done little to mitigate the great tension between Israeli Jewish groups with differing interpretations of the meaning of Judaism and Jewishness. It is very common to hear Israelis speak of Jewish religiosity as a dichotomy: On the one hand, there are the ‘*hiloni*’ Jews, and on the other hand, there are the ‘*dati*’ (religious), who are almost universally understood to be Orthodox. Even if this dichotomy is false, as we have seen, Yadgar and Liebman demonstrate (2003) that it is generally publically accepted as accurately descriptive, and that Jews who maintain religious practices, even with great regularity, will still often define themselves as *hiloni*, or secular, if these religious practices do not follow Orthodox Judaism’s interpretation.

2.5.1 Categories of Israeli Jewishness

Two comprehensive research projects, referred to above as the Guttman reports, and titled “Beliefs, Maintenance of Tradition, and Jewish Values in Israel” were conducted by the researchers Levy, Levinsohn and Katz from the Guttman Center of the Israel Democracy Institute (Levy et al., 1993 and Levy et al., 2002). These studies provide a glimpse into the positions of Israeli Jews in general regarding what is conceptualized in the current study religious outlook and practice, as well as a prism through which it is possible to perceive changes in these stances over the course of the decade elapsing between the two projects. As regards self-defined religious orientation, the results indicate relative consistency between 1990 and 1999, the years when the surveys themselves were being answered. Israeli Jewish society was divided, according to the self-ascriptions of the people questioned, in the following way:

	1999	1990
ULTRA-RELIGIOUS	5 %	3%
RELIGIOUS	12%	12%
TRADITIONAL	35%	42%
NOT RELIGIOUS	43%	38%
ANTI-RELIGIOUS	5%	5%

For the purposes of this study, I will divide the five groups of this table into four categories, combining the final two groups in the above table under the group I refer to as ‘secular’, and with which I would like to begin the account of my own terminological choices.

Secular – “Hiloni”:

“Hiloni”, or secular, can refer to a fairly broad variety of characteristics in the Israeli Jewish context. We might, for instance, understand it as referring to people who do not recognise religious obligations, or who feel no need to account for themselves before a supernal being. Malkin (2003) describes attempts by hiloni intellectuals to define such a

worldview in positive terms, asserting in the context of their own Jewishness a specialized connection to tradition rather than merely resistance to it, with reference to such Jewish precedents as the biblical prophets. Hiloni Jews may, then, in practice, be atheists, agnostics, deists or even theists. What unifies them is a sense of personal sovereignty, and the lack of deference to divine commandments. Schweid (1981), in contrast, puts the emphasis on the secular Jewish culture which had originated in Europe and flourished in Palestine around the start of the twentieth century, in defining Israeli Jews' secularism. Oron (1993) highlights how most of the *olim* (see "Aliyah" in Glossary) in early 20th century Palestine had abandoned the Jewish religious culture of their parents, seeking to consolidate a new Jewish culture rooted in working the land, an activity which for many would come to possess features of an alternative religion. Finally, as already noted, the Guttman reports (Levy et al., 1993; Levy et al., 2002) imply an identity between some of the respondents defining themselves as hiloni and those fulfilling several important Jewish commandments. Hiloni Israeli Jews might not define themselves as religious, then, but still they do not necessarily abstain from integrating religious practices into their lives.

It is worth considering, in this context, A. Dinur's (2015, pp. 33-4) alternative conceptualization of the form of secularism current in practice in contemporary Israeli Jewry. To begin with, he disputes the underlying assumptions of the popular Israeli conceptions of Jewish religiosity and secularism, such as the conception of the Jewish past as straightforwardly religious. Prior to the modern distinction between religion and secularism, he argues, the Jewish heritage encompassed a diverse range of the characteristics of medieval Ghetto life, including Jewish living arrangements, Jewish clothing, Jewish food, Jewish languages, and particular political Jewish duties and privileges, rather than being limited to just the profession of Jewish religious faith. What is more, Judaism's unique intermingling of religious with national and cultural senses means that, prior to the secularization of the modern era, Judaism cannot be seen to have been religious in the commonly-used, Christendom-derived sense of the word, but rather as religio-national, or religio-cultural.

Dinur's (2005, pp. 35-40) attempts a more coherent conceptualization of secularism proceeds through a bifurcation of monotheistic religion as such into its separate ontological and ethical roles. It is this first, ontological role of Judaism, as representing and explaining a God who has created and orders the universe, which Dinur sees as the

central target of hiloni atheists' criticism, in their preference for empirical science as the purveyor of ontological knowledge. However, such a radical secularism neglects Judaism's ethical role, in its implicit assumption that democratic mechanisms and humanist ideas are capable of providing an adequate alternative. This results in a "moral vacuum", in that capitalism's egocentrist emphasis in conduct, postmodernism's relativism regarding truth, and nationalism's particularistic tendencies, leave us with a poor alternative to religion's past ethical anchoring for altruistic conduct, robust commitment to the good, and universal outlook. Thus, this vacuum ought to and tends to be filled by an attenuated, "theological secularism" (Dinur, 2005, p. 37), retaining an implicit belief in God inasmuch as it retains a non-nihilistic-relativistic aspiration towards conduct of the kind it continues to see as an absolute good. In the particular Jewish context, argues Dinur, such an aspiration is particularly reconcilable and congenial with attachment to traditional cultural or hiloni Jewish conduct. It is in this vein, then, that I would suggest that we refrain from seeing "hiloni", in the Israeli context, as referring to a straightforwardly irreligious category, but instead consider it as a more inclusive term, potentially signifying various forms of religiosity as well. The way that Israeli hilonis relate to religious outlook and practice suggests that they can still be located somewhere within the religious spectrum.

Traditional – "Masorti":

The expressions *masorti* ('traditional') or *shomrei masoret* ('keepers of tradition') refer to Israeli Jews who define themselves neither as religious nor as hiloni. These comprise 35% of Israeli Jews, and they are mainly of North African and Middle Eastern extraction (Levy et al., 1993, Levy et al., 2002). According to Shokeid and Deshen (1999) and to Buzaglo (2008) - the latter of whom emphasizes the Middle-Eastern-Jewish tradition of moderate and inclusive interpretations of Judaism (i.e., religious outlook) as a causal factor - these Jews will tend, in their religious practice, to keep those of the commandments and maintain those of the customs that they consider to be powerful symbols of the national tradition. This tendency is attributed, by both these works of scholarship, not to faith or to obligation to the strictures of Jewish law, but to feelings of identification with the Jewish people, to the general religious outlook and to the notion that one should conserve traditional values in order to maintain the nation's existence.

Yadgar and Liebman (2003) show how certain religious practices are considered by many members of the above-mentioned grouping to constitute unusually important features of their culture and nationality. This includes some of the main tenets of Jewish dietary law, such as the prohibition on eating pork or shellfish, and the separation between meals involving meat and those involving dairy. Many Israeli Jews who define themselves as “traditional” therefore participate in a Sabbath eve dinner with the family, recite the *kiddush* prayer over a cup of wine, keep a *mezuzah* (see Glossary) on the doorpost of the entrance to their homes, pray in the synagogue on important holidays or even weekly at Sabbath services, and maintain the traditional religious elements of life-cycle events: weddings, bar mitzvahs, circumcisions. Many “traditional” Israeli Jews also reported that they accepted the principles of religion, but that these remained for them in the abstract, without being made concrete (Yadgar and Liebman, 2003). The picture that emerges is of a commitment to Judaism on the level of religious outlook by “traditional” Israeli Jews, without their necessarily being committed to its “practical” demands. Shenhav (2007) represents a more far-reaching claim that, since among Israeli Jews almost everyone has either an emotional relationship, or a relationship of faith or custom (which is to say, of religious outlook or religious practice) to Jewish tradition, most of the Jewish public in Israel is in fact not “hiloni”, or secular, but “traditional”.

“Traditional” Jews, as their numbers indicate, represent an influential element within Israeli society. This salient religious outlook feature of a positive attitude toward Jewish tradition among “traditional” Jews is what has motivated the founders of Conservative-Masorti Judaism in Israel, according to T. Friedman (1987), to adopt the name Masorti as the movement's official name, in an attempt to attract the type of population predisposed to such an attitude. This goal, which continues to play an important part in the movement's agenda, has thus far not had very significant success.

Religious Zionism (Modern Orthodox) – “Dati”:

Zur (2001) characterizes Modern Orthodox Judaism as notable for its reconciliation of Jewish religious practice as governed by halacha with the modern values and lifestyles associated with the secular world. He further describes how, in Israel, Modern Orthodoxy became politically associated with broad parts of the ‘nationalist-religious’

camp - the heirs of the late 19th and 20th century Orthodox-religious Zionists, who had joined forces politically with the overwhelmingly secular General Zionist activists but maintained traditional Jewish practice.

The initial participation of religious Jews in the Zionist movement had required a veritable revolution in their religious outlook, as described by Sheleg (2000). Over time, argues Avineri (1980), Religious Zionism began to see the practical and political pursuit of the Jewish national restoration as constituting part of a divine plan. Schwartz (1999) describes how the Six-Day War of 1967 constituted a turning point, in this respect, for the leadership of Religious Zionism/Modern Orthodox Judaism, which tended to see Israel's victory in the war as a manifest miracle. Today, in general Hebrew parlance, the word "dati", or "religious", generally refers to Religious Zionism.

In terms of religious customs, Religious Zionism has gone through a process of entrenchment in socially conservative tendencies in recent years, according to Sheleg (2010). While a small section of it does seem, he argues, to be slowly approaching the religious customs of the Masorti movement, at least with respect to issues like the status of women in religious life, most seem inclined toward conservatism in religious practice.

Ultra-Orthodox – "Haredi":

Ultra-Orthodox or haredi Judaism is strict regarding observance of Jewish law. Grilak (2002) describes this culture's process of development of its staunchly halachically-conservative religious outlook, crystallizing in the 18th and 19th centuries as a reaction against the processes of secularization, liberalization, and weakening of rabbinical authority among Jews. Ben-Rafael (2002) characterizes haredi religious outlook and practice as insular in orientation, with social organization principles tending to the formation of enclave communities within the general society. Samet (2005) finds that haredi or ultra-Orthodox outlook and practice resists changes in religious lifestyle or worship, even when these do not explicitly contradict Jewish law.

The preferred lifestyle for Ultra-Orthodox men is a life of Torah study and economic dependence. Men of army-conscription age who are studying full-time in yeshiva are granted an exemption from army service - a significant arrangement in a country with otherwise universal conscription for men and women. Wasserman (2002) describes how

such conventions are maintained and enforced by a strict hierarchical social arrangement, with revered rabbis placed at the topmost decision-making level. Moreover, as Samet (2005) shows, most of haredi society distances itself in religious outlook from the Zionist movement and from Jewish nationalism, through attitudes ranging from apathy to extreme opposition. This forms a crucial distinction between it and the nationalist-religious segment mentioned above. Samet characterizes haredi Jews are also the harshest opponents of non-Orthodox Judaism, as the greatest threat to their interpretation of halacha. Samet describes how haredi rabbis refrain from appearing on stage at any public event with a Reform or Masorti rabbi, for fear of granting them legitimacy as a Jewish-religious denomination.

2.6 The Establishment of Masorti Judaism in Israel

2.6.1 Congregations as religious and social communities

The first congregation in Israel with an affinity for Masorti Judaism, *Emet Ve-emunah*, was founded in 1934 in Jerusalem by Jewish immigrants (olim) from Germany (Shashar, 1997). Shashar characterizes this group of founders as generally well educated, and, consequently, as tending to more moderate religious views than could typically find fulfillment in the existing synagogues, which were all Orthodox, and usually ultra-Orthodox. Shashar goes on to describe how the Emet Ve-emunah congregation declared its aspiration to establish a synagogue with "courtesy and religious respect" (Shashar, 1997, p. 46), with decorum, and with a weekly sermon. The founders stressed that these guidelines were meant to promote a new emphasis on form rather than of content, which they saw as differentiating their prayer services from the situation in Orthodox synagogues. Shashar attributes this to their identification with the Masorti approach to Judaism as opposed to that of the Reform movement. As in American Masorti congregations at that time, the roles of men and women were not equal in the new Israeli institution's communal worship. However, while men and women did sit separately, there was no physical partition between them, as existed in Orthodox congregations. *Emet ve-Emunah* faded out of existence in the 1970s (Shashar, 1997).

The second Masorti congregation to be founded in Israel was *Kehillat Moriah* in Haifa, which was founded in 1955 by Jews from the United Kingdom, South Africa, the

United States and Israel. It has remained a thriving congregation to this day (Meirovich, 1999). As Chikli (2004) describes it, Masorti Judaism did not further develop in any significant way during the subsequent decade. In his analysis, the Orthodox monopoly on religion in the state of Israel acted to discourage grassroots liberal approaches to Judaism, and the scope of immigration of the more liberal-minded sections of North American Jewry was small. It was not until the late 1960s, and especially after the Six-Day War, that a burst of growth began in Israeli Masorti Judaism's development. During the two decades following 1967, Chikli notes, which saw an increase in immigration from North America, the number of Masorti congregations in Israel grew from 2 to 17.

2.6.2 The national Masorti movement

The first official organizational efforts towards the establishment of a Masorti movement in Israel were begun in 1971–1972, as described by Meirovich (1999). A number of immigrants, North American Masorti rabbis, served as representatives in Israel, in a more or less formal capacity, of the three main bodies of Masorti Judaism in the US: the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS); the Rabbinic Assembly (RA); and the latter's congregational arm, the United Synagogue of America (today known as the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism). Meirovich describes these rabbis as demonstrating a considerable interest in strengthening Masorti Judaism in Israel, but as being undone by the internal power struggles between the different North American Masorti bodies, in their reverberations in Israel. Ultimately, the representatives could not achieve sufficient momentum to successfully convince Masorti Jews in North America to resettle to Israel in substantial numbers to act as recruiters for the movement, as per their strategic goal. The year 1978 arguably constituted a defining moment in this respect. Meirovich (1999) tells of how Rabbi Michael Graetz, a young, American-born, Masorti rabbi in Israel, together with his supporters, successfully raised the requisite funds to establish an umbrella Masorti movement in Israel, with which all the local congregations would soon be affiliated.

2.6.3 The NOAM youth movement

NOAM, the Masorti movement's youth wing, functions as its instrument of informal education for school-age youth. Most of the second-generation participants in this study had been members of NOAM at this age. Meirovich (1999) describes how the youth movement was founded immediately following the official establishment of the Masorti movement. The founding of this movement was an attempt to provide the second-generation children with Masorti experiences that would develop their religious outlook and practices within a conventional Israeli youth movement framework. As of 2016, there are 21 branches of NOAM nationally.

It may be possible to gain some insight into the functioning of the NOAM movement by comparing two documents that have been central to its ethos: The first one, outlining the vision of NOAM in 1979, was formulated by the members of the first generation. The second document, updating it, 30 years later, in 2009, was one in whose formation the second generation had played the dominant role (see appendix C for both documents). This comparison provides an important context for the analysis of the fundamental issues of religious outlook and practice involved in this study. The earlier document - which emphasizes the communal role of the synagogue, the central importance of living in the Land of Israel, and the importance of Torah, Jewish law and commandments, and God – represented, in its dual focus on religious outlook and religious practice, NOAM's founders' perception of their reality at that time. The 2009 vision features largely the same elements, but puts an additional focus on the need for equality between the sexes, *tikun olam* (healing of the universe; a traditionally important principle in Judaism), social justice, and the conservation of the environment. The differences between the two documents reflect the intervening changes in religious lifestyle, inasmuch as few NOAM graduates - who would have become adults by the time the 2009 document was published - maintained full halachic observance. It would appear to suggest a weakening of religious practice that was concurrent with basic stability in religious outlook, an impression that would indeed be reinforced by the interviews of the current study.

Meirovich (1999) argues that the NOAM summer camp functioned as the highlight of youth movement activities. According to him, It was the Ramah camps of North American Masorti Judaism that had provided the model for the NOAM camp. The first generation aimed to replicate for their children the sort of formative experience they had

had in their own childhood and adolescence, with Ramah making a lasting contribution to their Masorti religious outlook (Alexander, 1992; Brown 1997). NOAM, like most of its Israeli youth movement counterparts, offers its graduates the option of joining a Masorti program as part of their mandatory service in the Israel Defense Forces. Members of the movement may thus enlist together, as a cohesive group, in a service-track combining periods of military service with volunteering in various civilian capacities. This provides a powerful group-consolidation experience for youth movement graduates, and the NOAM iteration of it makes it possible to maintain traditional Jewish life within a communal framework.

2.6.4 Related institutions

The TALI school network is not officially part of the Masorti movement. It was, however, established by Masorti activists, and to this day, according to Chikli (2004), there is some tendency among NOAM members to go to TALI schools. TALI is a Hebrew acronym for *Tigbur Limudei Yahadut* [Augmented Jewish Studies], and it forms a unique educational program operating in general (i.e., hiloni/public) state schools. Chikli notes that the network was originally founded by Masorti immigrants who had sought to create a new educational framework, which would offer an alternative to the two existing Jewish school systems - the general, hiloni state schools and the Orthodox state schools. Chikli also describes how, in the decade from 1976 to 1986, the program's coverage expanded from one school to ten. Its founders succeeded in making the Ministry of Education a partner in the enterprise, and in founding in 1987 an independent "TALI Educational Fund". As of 2016, there exist more than 100 TALI schools. In their beginnings, as described by Chikli (2004), the TALI schools operated in partnership with bodies with a clear Masorti character and the TALI system received much assistance from Masorti rabbis. This suggests that TALI schools, despite the lack of an official affiliation, ought to be considered part of the Masorti establishment in Israel.

A second independent organization that is informally associated with the Masorti movement is the Schechter Institute for Jewish studies. This institute offers an MA degree and houses a Masorti rabbinical seminary, which regularly ordains both male and female rabbis.

Summary

This chapter began with a discussion of the dual influence of Zacharia Frankel and Solomon Schechter on the formation and consolidation of Masorti Judaism in Germany and the United States, also discussing the historical background of mass Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe to the United States, and the growth of the movement there following their arrival. It further considers the large wave of immigration from North America to Israel following the Six-Day War of 1967, and the founding of the first Masorti institutions in Israel. This is followed by a description of Orthodox Judaism's prioritised status in official patronisation of religion in Israel, and the subsequent tendency in Israel to dichotomise between Orthodox interpretations of Judaism as "religious", on the one hand, and all other forms of religiosity as "hiloni", on the other, even when these include belief in God and maintenance of Jewish traditional practices. A representative survey of Jewish religious self-identification in Israel from recent decades is then presented, so as to give an idea of general trends in Israeli religiosity, followed by a characterization and discussion of the four central current Israeli terms to describe religiosity. I then describe the growth of Masorti congregations in Israel, against this somewhat inhospitable social background, and the foundation of the Masorti Movement in Israel, along with its various institutions.

It would seem that, despite official, governmental prioritization of religious Judaism in its Orthodox manifestations, Masorti Judaism has succeeded not only in surviving in Israel but also in consolidating to some extent and expanding. As will be shown in the following chapters, this is probably attributable to the willingness or tendency of Masorti Jews in Israel to invest their energies in an activist capacity, as well as to assert Masorti outlook and practice in the Israeli public sphere. This chapter has also shown the complexity of Jewish identity and Jewish religiosity in Israel, against the backdrop of an apparent dichotomy between religiosity and secularism, expressed in a counterintuitive way in an Israeli "hiloni"ism wherein much of the ostensibly hiloni outlook and practice can in fact be clearly defined as within the religious spectrum.

Chapter 3

The Use of Bourdieu to Theorize Religious Outlook and Practice

This chapter presents the theoretical approach adopted within the research. It first explains why Pierre Bourdieu's theory, with its focus on inequality and tensions within society, the relationship between the individual and the collective, and the insights arising from its use of the quasi-economic notion of capital, was selected as the appropriate theoretical framework for this multifaceted study of intergenerational transmission of religious outlook and practices, in the context of immigrant communities. The chapter further reviews the key Bourdieusian concepts utilized in the analysis. The first of these is capital, as subdivided into social, cultural and symbolic capital. The second concept discussed is field, as the arena where competition over these various forms of capital take place. This is followed by a more specific discussion of religious capital within the religious field. The last terms discussed are doxa, as the rules of the field, and the somewhat elusive “habitus”, as referring to shared behavioral dispositions within a group, and the question of its transferability between generations, followed by a discussion of the question of the deterministic nature of Bourdieusian thought, in attempting to explain why I have found his theoretical writing so useful for my needs. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the ways Bourdieusian terms will subsequently be used in analyzing data.

3.1 Advantages of Bourdieu's Theory

The multiple levels of data generated for this study seemed to call for a holistic approach that would ground the phenomena researched and the findings gathered in an overarching understanding and interpretation of the world. This required a theoretical approach that would allow me to interpret intergenerational transition of religious outlook and practice across a wide range of areas of Masorti-Jewish life. I have ultimately chosen for this purpose the sociological model formulated by Pierre Bourdieu.

The overarching focus of Bourdieu's theory, according to Grenfell (2004), is on the dynamic relationship between society and societal development, the inequalities perpetuated therein, and the conflicts and tensions arising between different social actors. According to May (2009 p. 42), the central theme in Bourdieu's work is "the interrelationship between the individual and the collective"; i.e., between structures and agents, in their influence upon each other and in their divergences. Grenfell (2004) further characterizes Bourdieu's contributions to sociology as being both empirical and theoretical in nature, both adding new knowledge on social phenomena and enriching sociologists' theoretical insights. Algazi (2002) considers Bourdieu's method unique, in its interweaving of these two factors into a holistic amalgam. Swartz (2012) has, conversely, highlighted the way that Bourdieu's work is indebted to various earlier theorists. Conspicuous among these is Karl Marx (1818–1883). However, Swartz argues that while the concept of capital has been commonly associated with Marx, Bourdieu has had an important contribution in having generalized it to several forms of social activity beyond the economy. In providing such a wide-ranging, multidimensional analysis of social phenomena, his theoretical framework seems suitable to the current study's complex context, which considers the combined questions of intergenerational transmission, migration, and religious transformation.

Bourdieu thus expands the notion of capital to include social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. As Bourdieu himself explained in an interview with Wacquant:

A general science of the economy of practices that does not artificially limit itself to those practices that are socially recognized as economic must endeavor to grasp capital, that 'energy of social physics' . . . in all of its different forms. . . . I have shown that capital presents itself under three fundamental species (each with its own subtypes), namely, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, pp. 118–9).

Bourdieu (1986) describes the individual as positioned in a social space where he or she is defined not by social class, but by the access to each kind of capital. In the current study's context, this enables the extension of the economic metaphor into the religious sphere, because one of the forms of practice amenable to analysis is religious practice, within the new religious field the immigrants have encountered in Israel.

Bourdieu also draws upon Max Weber (1864–1920) for the notion of the dominance of symbolic systems in social life, as well as for the idea of symbols and social order (Bourdieu, 1991, pp. 163–70), an insight which Bourdieu would ultimately develop into

his theory of fields and symbolic power. Swartz (1997) describes how Bourdieu has gone beyond Weber's understanding of the economic model:

Bourdieu's economy of practices can indeed be considered an important elaboration and extension of Weber's notion of ideal interests. But while Weber limits economic action to cases where there is means-ends calculation, Bourdieu sees interested pursuit in *all* types of action (Swartz, 1997 p. 69, original emphasis).

Bourdieu's metaphor of capital thus conceptualizes strengths and weaknesses, social capabilities and social limitations, as quasi-economic assets a person possesses. Bourdieusian capital is not tradable in the regular sense, but like economic capital it characterizes a person's relation to his or her social environment, conferring upon one distinct advantages when possessing high amounts of capital in a certain domain, and the disadvantages of poverty when one lacks it. The metaphor of capital is useful for characterizing all social dynamics as such, but in the context of an investigation of an immigrant group, where a person has exchanged a geographical space, the different kinds of capital he or she has succeeded or failed to carry over are particularly conspicuous.

Bourdieu thus analyzes the dynamics of the social sphere on the basis of the power relations of the different possessors of capital. In the context of Israeli society, as will be shown in this study, the distribution of capital in the religious context is decisively influenced by politics. The political structure in Israel, wherein a monopoly has emerged of one specific Jewish denomination, has had considerable influence on religious life in the country. The Bourdieusian model provides a rich conceptualization (in its holistic, comprehensive rather than particularized perspective) of the distribution of power in the social sphere in agents' different capacities to attain or transmit capital, and of the transformation of the capital itself in its transmission between generations. This enables an understanding of the ways different kinds of capital are adapted in the intergenerational transmission, and before this of the ways the different kinds of capital allow the agents to locate themselves within the new field, upon immigration.

3.2 Overview of the Bourdieusian Constructs Used in this Study

In this section, I describe the four Bourdieusian concepts that have been used to process and analyze the study data and to illustrate the social and cultural phenomena exhibited among the populations studied. These four concepts are capital, field, habitus and doxa. Each is related to the other, and together they create an intricate web of relations between individuals, their positions in society and their abilities to influence their own mobility and surroundings. It shows why these concepts are helpful in understanding the different social dynamics uncovered in the examination of the findings of this study.

3.2.1 Capitals - social, cultural, symbolic

One of Bourdieu's proposed mechanisms behind social dynamics is 'capital', which he subdivides into social, cultural, and symbolic (1986). All three forms of capital may exist both separately from and in various combinations with one another.

Social Capital:

The first form that I want to discuss is social capital. While Bourdieu may not have been the first social scientist to use the term 'social capital', his precise definition of the concept and of its place in an overarching, wider-ranging conceptual framework would appear to have given it increased prominence. Social capital is, in Bourdieu's words:

The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership of a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of a collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 21).

The amount of social capital an individual possesses is, thus, made up of their own, as well as of that of others in their network. In this way, by virtue of reciprocity and mutual trust, all members in a network share ownership of such capital. A benefit of this trust is that it can lead to increased cooperation in certain aspects of daily life. Social capital can be a unifying force for a group to rally around. On the other hand, it may be seen as exclusionary by outsiders to the group. As Gauntlett (2011, p. 2) puts it: "Social

capital reflects the very worst side of the saying, 'it's not what you know, it's who you know.'". Because the current study involves immigrants, who typically arrive onto a new field with no established social networks of their own, this issue would seem particularly relevant, because it raises the question - how would what they knew, in terms of Judaism, be reconciled with who they knew, as strangers newly arriving in the field?

Bramadat (2005) has analyzed religion as social capital, emphasizing its potential to lead to violence and terrorism. Religious extremism can be the ultimate result of a social solidarity which provides recognition and appreciation to those who subscribe to it (i.e., social and symbolic capital), but whose extreme outgrowths are violence and terrorism. Bramadat's research demonstrates the utility of Bourdieu's theory of capital as a powerful tool for the analysis of the reaction to devalued religion and to migration, in that it provides "a metaphor of the kind of non-material wealth that emerges out of relationships in a religious context" (Bramadat, 2005, p. 203), as well as of the sometimes dangerous consequences of its devaluation. The current study, too, addresses the devaluation of religious capital, the ways that this phenomenon had led first-generation Masorti immigrants to activism for social change.

Cultural Capital:

A second form of capital is cultural capital. In his study of French society, *Distinction*, Bourdieu (2004, p. 471) describes how the social order is progressively inscribed in people's minds through 'cultural products', including education, language, judgments, values, methods of classification and everyday activity. Cultural capital, as he terms this pool of resources, reflects the world of knowledge and taste of the individual and of the group to which he or she belongs. It includes behaviors, styles of speech, uses of vocabulary, manners and mores, together with tastes in clothes, food and hobbies, and choice of friends. Cultural capital is, thus a "certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to power" (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 20). He also explains the forms cultural capital can take:

Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body (knowledge, abilities, values, and cultural tastes); in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in

the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 47, original emphasis).

Bourdieu (2004) further describes cultural capital as typically passed down as a legacy, as with family artifacts and social class. However, it may also be cultivated through a long process of apprenticeship, which allows the potential acquirer to attain competence at the tools which would enable them to decipher codes and symbols in day-to-day life (Bourdieu, 2004, pp. 47–51). Cultural capital, may be discerned, in the current case, in the high level of religious literacy of first-generation Masorti Jews. As indicated by many of the interviews, Jews who possessed comprehensive knowledge of Jewish religion, history, and culture were often respected for their religious literacy by their communities. They also tended to take on leadership roles in these communities. Religious capital will be seen to have been cultivated through cultural capital, then, while social capital, as expressed in the social network built after immigration, acted together to create the religious outlook of the first generation. They would both have had an influence on the formation of religious outlook. I will revisit, in the analysis chapters, the question of which one's influence was the more decisive.

Weine, Ware and Klebic (2004) adopt a different perspective, in looking at teen refugees and the ways that they have adapted and applied cultural capital in their new host country, after their immigration. They suggest focusing on the exploitation of cultural capital by such various mechanisms as bilingualism, return to religion, obliging of family and pride in tradition. In the current study, too, we will see bilingualism as playing a very important role in combating devaluation of capital. Within the first generation interviewee group, I will describe a somewhat analogous (though far from identical) phenomenon of return to religion, and both generations displayed a pride in tradition. The feature of obliging family, however, was apparently not an important factor in the current study's groups. There does appear to have been a certain tendency to auto-segregation and internal consolidation of cultural capital, common to both the group investigated by Wine, Ware and Klebic and to my own study group.

Sullivan (2002) criticizes the concept of "cultural capital" as somewhat too vague in its definition, especially as it relates to class differences. Consequently, she finds that it has had limited success, when used in past empirical researches, in predicting patterns of social reproduction as expressed in social stratification. My own focus has been on

religious differences, rather than class differences, so that her specific objections in the contexts of social stratification are not as relevant.

Symbolic Capital:

The third form of capital is symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Certificates, licenses, degrees and titles which create status, prestige, and authority potentially constitute symbolic capital - a documentation of cultural competence which gives their possessor a permanent, legitimate value in relation to power. Academic degrees or rabbinic ordination, for example, as displayed prominently on an office wall or mentioned in casual or friendly conversation, can serve as a basis for raising social status. In order for this capital to be valuable and become symbolic capital, it has to have its value recognized in the field in which it is positioned (Morrice, 2011, p. 5). For example, as I will explore in subsequent sections of this work, rabbinic ordination from non-Orthodox movements was not worth the same in Israel as it was worth in the US. In Bourdieu's words:

Because the social conditions of [cultural capital's] transmission and acquisition are more disguised than those of economic capital, it is predisposed to function as symbolic capital, i.e., to be unrecognized as capital and recognized as legitimate competence, as authority exerting an effect of (mis)recognition (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 18).

To Bourdieu, power is the symbolic legitimization of domination by the dominator. Symbolic power legitimizes economic and political power through a form of collective denial or "misrecognition" of the way power works. Power is, in fact, culturally and symbolically created, and constantly re-legitimized through the interplay of agency and structure. Symbolic capital can be recognized in the bilingualism that both the first and second generations of Masorti immigrants to Israel maintained. Proficiency in another language, particularly English, has the value of enabling its holder to explore broader professional avenues. It also bestows greater status on the individual within Israeli society itself.

In the context of both religious outlook and religious practice, the religious egalitarianism of Masorti Judaism itself constituted an important component of symbolic capital, because it attached to such values as feminism and egalitarianism, and

engendered pride, taking on a very tangible reality in the mixed-sex prayers reported by interviewees.

3.2.2 Field

Field, to Bourdieu (2004), was an arena of struggle and competition among groups for authority and control over the three forms of capital discussed in the previous section. The fact that the current study considers immigration, and what is more, immigration of members of a religious minority, outside the religious hegemony, suggests a social tension that might be profitably conceptualized using the notion of field, and specifically that of the religious field. As Gaventa (2003, p. 6) explains Bourdieu's term, fields are the various social and institutional spaces in which persons express and reproduce their dispositions, and where they compete for the distribution of different kinds of capital. Bourdieu preferred the term 'field' to 'system' because, to him, 'field' suggested dynamism - both within and between fields - whereas system assumed a more static assemblage of drawers, as it were, into which a researcher deposited his findings (Bourdieu, 2005). The dynamic nature of fields is critical to Bourdieu's understanding and treatment of the struggle against power and of other expressions of social inequality (Bourdieu, 1993). Bourdieu (1993) goes on to describe people living within a particular field as sharing basic interests essential to the functioning of the field. The structure of a field is, in this way, a reflection of the given balance of power between the agents or institutions involved in it. Each such field, subsequently, has its tendency to set values, which in turn determine the hierarchy in that field. Thus, a field's participants' basic interests engender a competition that will entrench the field in a particular structure through ideology. An understanding of the dynamics of one field can thereby be useful in the comprehension and interpretation of other fields:

There are general laws of fields. Fields as different as the field of politics, the field of philosophy, or the field of religion, have invariant laws of functioning (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 72).

Bourdieu highlights, in this context, the internal coherence, consistency and relative autonomy which he finds to characterize every field. This conception of field may be profitably utilized for a consideration of the tensions and contradictions arising when people encounter, and are challenged by, different contexts - for example, in migration.

In the current study's context, we may speak of the field of religion in Israel as being controlled by the Orthodox denomination's establishment. In consequence of the historical developments described in Chapter 2 of this thesis, having to do with government coalition agreements, the Orthodox Jewish establishment has been given exclusive state-recognized control of religious services. Thus, this is a field where hegemony belongs to the Orthodox denomination group, such that the Masortis cannot integrate within, and must create new loci of identification wherein to express their own religious outlook and practice. They learned the doxa (the rules of the field), and within the limits of what was thus possible, using their own means, they created new spaces for themselves for these purposes. Moreover, the religious field itself, in Israel, would appear to operate with some autonomy from the more egalitarian systems of the state's democratic institutions.

Bourdieu (1993) describes how people choose to be more complicit with power when they are able to earn capital and to benefit in a given situation. In a set situation of power relations, Bourdieu finds that those who have a monopoly on the forms of capital particularly valuable in a field tend to adopt strategies of preservation and conservatism, while those with less of this capital will adopt strategies of reform. This suggests a compelling interpretation of the conduct of the Orthodox establishment, in entrenching itself in conservatism against the immigration of the Masortis. Avineri (1994) describes Orthodox Judaism further rigidifying following the government coalitions' status-quo agreements. In contrast, Meirovich (1999) describes the Masorti communities as trying to adopt strategies of radical reform, fighting against even the traditional conventions of the movement itself, in founding a rabbinical court and Masorti congregations.

Having established the notion of the field, its function and dynamics, Bourdieu suggests (1993) that one of the central struggles within any field is that of defining its limits. According to Bourdieu (interviewed by Wacquant), the participants in the field are "everyone who has something at stake". (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 96). Particularly relevant to this study are the dynamics found at its boundaries:

We shall find a struggle, the specific forms of which have to be looked for each time, between the newcomer who tries to break through the entry barrier and the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out competition (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 72).

According to Bourdieu (1998, p. 132), the practical strategies adopted by newcomers are limited to the boundaries of existing fields, as they are typically unable to bring

about revolutions that would endanger the very existence of the field, the axioms upon which it is founded or the bedrock of its beliefs. In the context of the present study, this struggle is evidenced in the attempts of first-generation Masorti immigrants to define the boundaries of the field of Jewish religious practice, including the question of who may define a Jewish person or a religious Jewish act in the State of Israel (Ben-Rafael and Ben Hayim, 2006a).

The structure of each field constitutes, as described, a hierarchically determined reflection of the variety of forces operating and competing within it. For example, within the state of Israel there would appear to be a clear hierarchical division between the different religious denominations, when we consider Wasserman's (2002) description of the uneven distribution of resources among them. At the same time, however, while a field is an established space, it remains, too, a dynamic one. It may change internally in accordance with the types and quantities of capital possessed by the groups operating within it. In practice, an analysis of the field at any given moment forms a kind of status report on how previous struggles have been waged and their outcome determined. As Bourdieu puts it:

The structure of the field is a *state* of the power relations among the agents or institutions engaged in the struggle, or, to put it another way, a state of the distribution of the specific capital which has been accumulated in the course of previous struggles and which orients subsequent strategies. This structure, which governs the strategies aimed at transforming it, is itself always at stake. The struggles which take place within the field are about the monopoly of the legitimate violence (specific authority) which is characteristic of the field in question, which means, ultimately, the conservation or subversion of the structure of the distribution of the specific capital (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 73, original emphasis).

People often experience their power differently, depending on which field they are in at any given moment, so that context and environment constitute key influences on behavior. The struggles between the different agents in a field, and especially the resolutions of these struggles, reflect the hierarchical differentiation of value in the forms of capital possessed by various agents. Frequently, this will involve the same ostensibly capital-conferring item, but it will assume greater value when possessed by a group that holds additional types of status- and power-bestowing capital. Power struggles will play a key role in the current study's analysis, in the discussion of Masorti Jews' attempts to find their position in a field new to them (Gaventa, 2003, p. 6).

Bourdieu (1993) identifies *monopoly* as a forceful feature in all fields. Monopoly exists when one group holds power and resources to an extent that constrains and constricts other players in the field. Although he does not refer to a monopolistic power specific to the field of religion, to Bourdieu's mind the ground rules, in any field - the very functioning of the field as a field - reflect a distinct dynamic of power relations, of authority and of hierarchy between those who are in control and those who are challenging this control. This would certainly seem to apply to the religious field in Israel, with one example being the current monopoly of the Orthodox rabbinate over the conversion process in Israel as described by Fisher (2015). Thus, while entry into a field and the ability to act within it, for newcomers, might not always necessitate full proficiency in its rules, they would require some sort of acquiescence in them. Bourdieu designates this acceptance the entry fee (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 74). In the current case, this is relevant to the necessity, for the first generation of Masorti immigrants, to acquiesce to the basic doxa in the field, even while aiming to reform and change the field.

The Bourdieusian concept of field has served in this study as a broad springboard for the analysis and discussion of socio-religious life, by enriching the discussion and understanding of tension between players. I have used field to analyze the changes in religious outlook and religious practice between the two generational groups against the backdrop of the phenomenon of migration. I explore the fields in which the first-generation members had operated upon arrival in Israel, and those in which the second generation subsequently maintained or diverged from its predecessor generation group's religious outlook and practices. I also explore the balance of power between two groups in the religious field in Israel - on the one hand, Orthodox Israelis, who, as Neuberger (1997) describes, have held conditions of privilege, influence, and legal standing, due to the Orthodox religious hegemony, and on the other hand the new immigrants, who, holding different views and religious values, were perceived as a threat to the Orthodox monopoly .

3.2.3 Religious capital in the religious field

Bourdieu discussed religion in several of his writings. His argument may be summarized, according to Rey (2014), as claiming for religion a social function that provides people with a sense of their place and position in the world. Rey further asserts

that, while Bourdieu did not discuss theological aspects of religion per se, he nonetheless exercised a great influence on religious studies through the social constructs he had defined:

Bourdieu's commentaries on religion, taken together, thus aim to demonstrate how institutional religions seek to monopolize the religious field by imposing on the laity an 'orthodox' worldview and by denouncing as 'heretical' any alternative worldviews that competitors seek to propagate among the same laity. (Rey, 2014, p. 57).

This is significant in the present context because of Orthodox Judaism being doubly institutionalised, both as a denomination with its own leadership, and as the state-recognised, official representative of Jewish religiosity, which provides it with hegemony over the religious field

An important feature of the religious field is the competition over religious capital: "Religious capital has two forms: religious symbolic systems (myths and ideologies), on the one hand, and religious competencies (mastery of specific practices and bodies of knowledge), on the other" (Verter, 2003, p. 157). In the current study's terms, we may understand the former as religious outlook, and the latter as religious practice. Neuberger (1997) describes the way that the Orthodox monopoly harms the funding, stature and legal status of the liberal Jewish movements.

Bourdieu (1971) saw organized religion as monopolizing the religious field to the extent of its denouncing alternative interpretations as heretical. He stressed that the religious institutions' goal, therein, was "the monopoly over the legitimate production of religious capital," as well as the "institutionalization of their dominance in the religious field" (Bourdieu, 1971, p. 305). Rey emphasizes that,

It is thus pertinent for orthodoxy's religious specialists to inculcate in the laity a religious habitus that permits orthodoxy's (and the allied economic and political elite's) 'misrecognized domination' . . . and doing so requires a systematic crafting of the religious field's *doxa* (the field's informal and tacitly accepted rules) and *illusio* (people's 'feel' for the field and their inclination to invest in it) (Rey, 2014, p. 82, original emphasis).

The Masorti movement in Israel can be seen to constitute heterodoxy to the establishment as there are many examples of discrimination, as outlined by Don-Yehiya (1975): Masorti rabbis are not officially recognized by the Israeli rabbinate and cannot serve as municipal rabbis; the Masorti weddings they would conduct are not registered.

Don-Yehiya also notes how the superior position of the Orthodox sectors is manifested in the unequal distribution of political power and material resources.

A field, we are reminded by Rey (2014, p. 47), is defined by its players. Accordingly, its religious nature is characterized by the religious involvement of its members. Streib (2008) treats the definition of 'religiosity', understood as identification with organized religion, as distinct from 'spirituality', which is flexible, and requires comparably little practical effort. Streib's study focuses on religion as a Bourdieusian field, and attempts to explain the diversity characterizing his study population in this respect. Attitudes range from identification and committed participation in an established religious community or other kind of religious framework, through spirituality in its broadest sense, to a religious orientation relying on a spiritual or even mystical dimension. Rey's study (2014) invokes the Bourdieusian notion of field and describes the dynamics of a field - in this case a religious one - in its ability to expand and absorb new players such as spiritual seekers and believers, who then go on to influence the field at large.

Dillon (2001) maps out the constellation of forces within one field and confirms that religion maintains a law-like regularity and an almost autonomous status within it, exercising a potent influence on its surroundings. She asserts that religion is a symbolic system that, as Bourdieu puts it, is simultaneously "structured and structuring" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 2). Dillon's study gives credence to the notion of the diversity of religious fields. Each specific field she describes has a separate system of forces, and even certain fluidity in its own structure and practice, particularly in terms of content and worldview. Her study also illustrates how important it is to understand power relations within the field.

In the Israeli-Jewish context examined in this particular study, the socio-religious processes analyzed include struggles between groups holding widely disparate amounts of capital: The Masorti immigrants to the new field, and the existing Orthodox establishment. Thus, Ben-Rafael and Ben-Hayim's (2006b) account of Jewish identity in Israel, under Orthodox hegemony, may be understood as describing the holders of religious power and authority having erected walls to conserve and protect their capital. I would argue that Masorti Jews, on the other hand, of both the first and of the second generations, would have challenged the existing distribution of capital in the field of religion.

3.2.4 Doxa

According to Sapiro, doxa, along with capital, field, and habitus, constitutes one of the key constructs in Bourdieu's theory (Bourdieu, 2005). Sapiro describes doxa as the structure of collective social discourse; the norms and rules that dictate the majority's behavior. Hinski (1993) describes doxa as simply the rules of the field – the range of beliefs and opinions acceptable in the field. Bourdieu specifies it as

The relationship of immediate adherence that is established in practice between a habitus and the field to which it is attuned, the pre-verbal taking for granted of the world that flows from practical sense (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 68).

In its ancient Greek origins, 'doxa' meant widespread belief, social convention, or probable knowledge. Bourdieu proposed using the word to refer to everything considered self-evident within a given society - any seemingly natural truth that does not require explication. Doxa effectively defines what people may and may not think, how they should act, and what the social restrictions are to which they must submit or which are imposed upon them (Bourdieu, 1990b). Doxa may thus be understood as the 'common sense' behind the distinctions that we make. Doxa exists when we "forget the limits" which have given rise to the unequal distribution of capital in society, in that it is "an adherence to relations of order which, because they structure inseparably in both the real and the thought world, are accepted as self-evident" (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 471). In this way doxa may be said to determine what is permissible and what is forbidden in a certain field; what is acceptable and what is not; what is praiseworthy and what blameworthy. This construct would seem to be especially relevant in matters relating to social struggle or to competition between groups within and between fields, for what seems natural and self-evident to one group or class may not seem so to another which holds a different doxa.

Doxa also serves as the framework within which one gives expression to an accepted habitus. It enables a group of people to regulate its behavior in a relatively harmonious fashion, engendering consensus and the ability to think and act in ways that would avoid internal clashes.

In the Israeli-Jewish context, the doxa of the religious field, or its rules, derive from the fact that Orthodox Judaism's interpretation of the Jewish religion has received the formal status of the hegemonic denomination, having formed and continuing to form the

religious establishment in Israel. The consequences of this are that it is largely the Orthodox denomination's interpretation of religious outlook and religious practice that are seen as valid and valued in the eyes of the religious establishment, as well as by the majority of the general populace.

3.2.5 **Habitus and intergenerational transmission**

Habitus is a key term in Bourdieu's theory, but this does not necessarily mean it is easy to understand or explain. It is, according to Bourdieu (2004), the socialized norms or tendencies which guide behavior and thinking, and is dynamically shaped by the interplay between personal experience and social structures. It is, as paraphrased by Wacquant,

The way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways (Wacquant, 2005, p. 316, cited in Navarro, 2006, p. 16).

Habitus is, according to Bourdieu (2004), neither the result of completely free will, nor fully determined by structures, but, rather, is created by an interplay between the two over time. Dispositions are shaped by past events and structures at the same time that they shape current practices and structures, by conditioning our perceptions of them. In this sense, habitus is created and reproduced unconsciously, "without any deliberate pursuit of coherence . . . without any conscious concentration" (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 170). Among the things reproduced between the generations in habitus are what is conceptualized within this study as religious outlook and religious practice.

According to Bourdieu (2004), human beings are organized by means of an internalized set of laws - predetermined arrangements which provide instructions to influence the order of individual lives. Persons absorb these directives during the socialization process, (in the case of the interviewees in this study, this will be seen to have occurred through NOAM, within the household, etc.) and develop them in response to various social encounters. Social activism, such as fighting to change the religious field in Israel, and religious practices in general, may be identified as examples of such habitus, as will be shown in the data-analysis chapters.

As a cultural system of mediation, imprinted in the human being from the moment of birth and throughout the course of life, habitus strongly influences one's understanding

of their reality and thus shapes the course of all of one's actions. It is a key factor in the generation and regulation of the components of social life and in their transmission to the next generation because it forms

a system of schema [that] constantly orient choices, which, though not deliberate, are nonetheless systematic; which, without being arranged and organized expressly according to an ultimate end, are nonetheless imbued with a sort of finality that reveals itself only post festum (Bourdieu, 1967, p. 161).

It would therefore appear to form a suitable analytical term to understanding intergenerational transmission of religious outlook and practice, as considered in this study.

Habitus is a set of schemata for the creation of practices and, at the same time, for their comprehension and evaluation, being

a system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organizing principles of action (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 13).

One may discern a particular habitus, for example, in the correlation between occupation, education, income and artistic preferences. Habitus will thus give rise to shared group dispositions. It shapes a person's feeling of location in social space, and leads to patterns which are enduring and transferrable from one context to another, but which, nevertheless, shift in relation to specific contexts and over time

Habitus is not fixed or permanent. It can change in unexpected situations or over a long historical period (Navarro, 2006, p. 16, emphasis mine).

Sullivan argues that the concept of habitus is "at once too all-inclusive and too vacuous to be of any use to empirical researches" (Sullivan, 2002, p. 163), but, to my mind, this merely renders it more versatile, and encourages a utilization of it that would avoid a dogmatic or overly deferential reliance on Bourdieu's specific formulation of it.

Jenkins (2002) likewise criticizes habitus, asserting that, despite Bourdieu's protestations to the contrary, the concept retains a generalizing, structuralist character, in its overemphasis on order and pattern in social life, and consequent neglect of historical, developmental considerations, and the details of social interaction. This study suggests, however, that habitus can be profitably used even if we do not assume such an overwhelming explanatory and predictive power for it and recognize its capacity to transform through the generations.

I will, accordingly, discuss this phenomenon in the context of the dynamic process of migration, which involves shifts in space and the creation of a new context that highlight habitus' capacity to change, rather than its tendency to reproduction. Structurally imposed tensions between habitus and the field will often naturally develop, because individuals experience power differently, depending on the field they belong to at each particular point in time. In this study's context, because the habitus of Masorti Jews was not easily reconcilable with the habitus of the other major players in the religious field, the latter belonging, as I will show, to the Orthodox denomination, we will see that they had to choose between letting go of their old habitus and finding creative and flexible ways to retain it.

The significance of transformation in migration is made explicit in Bourdieu's theory (as expressed in a joint research project with Wacquant):

Before he or she becomes an immigrant, the migrant is always first an emigrant. . . . The sociology of migration must therefore imperatively start, not from the concerns and cleavages of the receiving society, but from the sending communities, their history, structure and conditions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2000, p. 174, original emphasis).

According to Oliver and O'Reilly (2010), the manner in which immigrants cope with their new situations is largely dependent on the forms of capitals and the habitus that they bring with them, and on whether or not these are acknowledged within the new fields. Immigrants will make adjustments within their fields to whatever extent they can, making use of the capital they have brought with them. They will tend to live in the same areas as others from their home community, where they may speak their own language, eat their own foods, have themselves understood, and generally feel 'at home'. This will often entail, conversely, the perpetuation of past societal problems. As Swartz puts it: "The general overall effect is the *reproduction* of common patterns of hierarchy and conflict from one field to another" (Swartz, 1997, p. 132, original emphasis). Thus, though the field might appear to present opportunities, it nonetheless continues to be structured by typical hierarchical dichotomies. This helps to explain the difficulties many immigrants - irrespective of motivation, both individually and as a group - encounter among their new 'hosts' (Oliver and O'Reilly, 2010).

Utilizing Bourdieu's concept of distinction, Oliver and O'Reilly show how class distinction reproduces itself among immigrants to Spain. This does not necessarily occur through such classic distinctions as occupation, background, or economic capital,

but rather, “the symbolic becomes particularly important: taste, education and other expressions of cultural capital are redrawn as the basis of distinction” (Oliver and O’Reilly, 2010, p. 62). Thus, despite moving to a new field, there are ultimately limits to the possibilities of personal reinvention and to the potential transformation of habitus, because much continues to be carried from one field to another. According to Oliver and O’Reilly, it is an illusion to think that all may start anew.

Along with capital, then, it is clear that immigrants’ habitus shapes their new physical circumstances, creating spaces that bring together the old with what is newly acquired from their fresh surroundings. As Oliver and O’Reilly put it: “A habitus finds similar habitus; one is thus attracted to those of one’s own class, to avoid feeling like a fish out of water” (Oliver and O’Reilly, 2010, p. 61). At the same time that immigrants will feel a need to adjust to the new setting, however, C. I. Waxman (1989) shows that they will usually choose not to abandon those aspects of the old which continue to provide supportive structures and networks.

Immigrants enter new fields carrying with them various forms of capital. This capital may have been of value to them in their home fields, granting them societal benefits, high status and security. Irrespective of their relative pre-emigration status in this home field, they would have possessed capital peculiarly useful within it - language proficiency; familiarity with the culture, customs and foods; and shared expectations. Upon arrival in a new field, some, if not all, of this capital, would inevitably be devalued: professional advancement may be blocked; the host countries’ cultural and social systems may be unappreciative of their capital. The immigrants may not possess the knowledge and skills necessary for integration in the new setting. Morrice thus describes an educated professional Iraqi immigrant to the United Kingdom:

The habitus which in Iraq equipped her for decoding the social world and managing the fields she encountered did not have value in the UK. This disjuncture engendered an underlying sense of powerlessness (Morrice, 2011, p. 57).

An analogous sense of powerlessness, due to the devaluation of habitus, was described by the first-generational interviewee group of the current study, despite the vast differences between the field investigated by Morrice and the Israeli one.

Erel (2010, p. 650) illustrates in his study people’s capability of modifying capital. He focuses on the cultural capital immigrants bring with them, and stresses their creative

agency in constructing new forms of cultural capital to better adjust to their new location. He asserts that, within an immigrant group, cultural capital is differentiated according to gender, class, educational status and ethnic affiliation. This then affects the way social and cultural capital can be mobilized. Similarly, Lerner (2013) discusses Russian immigrants to Israel, in their attempts to find their place in Israeli society. She describes how they use their own familiar habitus and cultural capital in adapting to their new society.

As habitus crystallizes at an early age, according to Bourdieu (1990b), and is shaped, in part, by experiences related to family history and early schooling, the question arises how successfully it can be passed on and reproduced from generation to generation. Brañas-Garza and Neuman (2006) examine such transmission in Spanish Catholic households, assuming that religious capital is initially formed and accumulated in childhood by observation and emulation of parents. According to this approach, parents will transmit religious capital to their children by serving as role models and by introducing them to attendance at mass. This in turn creates a stock of religious capital that is reflected in the religious habitus. They find a strong gender influence on the transmission of 'religious capital' - primarily on attendance at mass - from mother to daughter and from father to son. Prayer, however, is found to be associated more strongly with childhood exposure to church services.

Jo (2013) has studied the effects of a common home-schooling technique in Korea and of private supplementary tutoring on the phenomenon of migration. She finds that Korean mothers who were graduates of this mode of education - based on reinforcement, memorization, internalization and practice - had amassed cultural capital of a kind that allowed them to successfully adapt their habitus to the needs of acclimatization in their new locations. Moreover, they were able to transmit their values to their children, after emigration. The way that these Korean mothers were able to reshape their habitus and to transfer cultural capital assets to their children in a way that eased their and their children's migration process, provides a potentially encouraging perspective on the reproduction of habitus by an immigrant generation, as examined in the current study. It provides an example of the role of intergenerational transmission in shaping a person's capital and habitus, wherein the parents successfully provide the children with the platform upon which to cultivate capital that would fit their own doxa.

Maloof's (2013) inquiry into the educational achievements of immigrant children studies the habitus of the children and the way that it has been able to change; how they have managed to adopt the requisite language - not merely the spoken language, but the social grammar as well - thereby enabling themselves to navigate their new field and steadily accumulate status-increasing capital.

3.3 Bourdieu - a Determinist?

As discussed above, people are confined to their location within the field and have a hard time moving, transmitting or changing their habitus. One common criticism of Bourdieu's theory is that it is, therefore, deterministic (see Swartz, 1997, pp. 67–8; Calhoun, 2002, p. 22, footnote 70). Bourdieusian thinking, contend its critics, denies the possibility of the individual to influence and shape social reality. If true, this would mean that social change is limited, proceeding according to a predetermined structure, this would make his analytical framework unsuitable to the evident change that has occurred in the first generation following its encounter with the field, and in what appears to have changed between the generations. Swartz (1997) and Calhoun (2002) see the notion of Bourdieu's 'habitus' as precluding the expectation of social change, such that individual will and free choice seem not to exist, with social structure alone dictating reality and determining the course and order of events. Bourdieu, according to this interpretation, sees the social order as carved into individuals' minds via such cultural constructs as education and language, thereby unavoidably perpetuating the acceptance of social hierarchies. As Bourdieu himself puts it, interviewed by Wacquant:

The relation between habitus and field operates in two ways. On one side it is a relation of conditioning: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of the immanent necessity of the field (or a hierarchy of intersecting fields). . . . On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction: habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense or with value, in which it is worth investing one's energy (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 127).

Individuals, being culturally conditioned and unconsciously driven by their habitus, cannot choose otherwise, according to Sapiro:

If our taste is fixed to familiar tastes . . . and our eyes are trained to see only what we have learned in our own culture, then this significantly narrows, if not completely eliminates, the ability to believe in social change, let alone achieve it (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 9).

Bourdieu's conception of power relations between hierarchies, of social reproduction as a central feature in the development of society, and of the dynamics of fields' boundaries, would seem, in this way, to suggest a mold into which all must fit. If true, this would mean, in our case, that the way in which the field was structured upon the immigrants' arrival, could never subsequently be changed. If another course would seem possible, it is only illusory. As Jenkins puts it:

[Bourdieuian thought] is essentially deterministic and circular - objective structures produce culture, which determines practice, which reproduces those objective structures - this project necessarily fails (Jenkins, 1982, p. 270).

Consequently, Jenkins (1982) deems Bourdieu's attempts to deny that he is a determinist, despite his ideas on habitus, unconvincing. A. King (2004), in contrast, emphasizes how Bourdieu himself had not seen his structure as deterministic. For Bourdieu, he asserts, people would themselves *choose* to follow their habitus:

Individuals actively follow rules; they are not determined by them. An individualistic account of rule-following of this kind would certainly avoid the problems of rule-determinism by allowing individuals conscious agency. Structure exists but the way it is applied is the product of individual understanding (A. King, 2004, p. 51).

King's argument reinforces the conception of Bourdieu's theory as describing the activities of free people, rather than suggesting they were not free. When questioned by Wacquant about this perceived "determinism", Bourdieu rejected this characterization:

LW: [A] deterministic schema [is] sometimes attributed to you with the formula 'structures produce habitus, which determine practices, which produce structures'. The idea that position in structure directly determines social strategy.

PB: Circular and mechanical models of this kind are precisely what the notion of habitus is designed to help us destroy (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 134).

Here there are two levels of rebuttal against the deterministic characterization. The first of these is on the level of the individual. As mentioned above, Bourdieu's emphasis on the individual contradicts the notion of determinism. Individuals are both reflexive and aware of their own habitus, and can actively create social change. The second level is that of the field, and its entanglement with habitus and capital. Any shake-up in the practical connection of fields and in their dynamics can cause a change that would cause a movement of the individual's place and set a new course for them. As Yang (2014) shows, social change can be explained by incongruence between fields - a routine component of reality, which increases the momentum for change.

In my view, although Bourdieu presents a largely deterministic framework, which would prove hard to change and unsettle, he does leave space for the individual to find her or his own place. Changing location and position within the field is very difficult, but it is not impossible, as is shown in cases of migration and confrontation with doxa, and as will be discussed here.

Prieto, Sagafi-nejad and Janamanchi's work (2013) confronts this question of ostensible determinism in Bourdieu, in their account of the acclimatization of Mexican immigrants in the United States. Their research finds a direct and consistent relationship between the characteristic habitus and the different forms of capital found to be possessed by immigrants, and demonstrates how both tend to change in the process of the immigrants' adaptation to their new society. In that respect, this study lends support to Bourdieu, who consistently contested the claim that his approach was little more than a refined reformulation of determinism.

3.4 Summary: Bourdieusian Terms in this Study

This brief overview of scholarly writing on the matter highlights the fact that religious fields function in the same way as any other fields. They feature players operating according to their habitus, symbolic as well as cultural and social capital, and doxa. This demonstrates the utility of the Bourdieusian theoretical approach in gaining an analytical understanding of such behavior.

In the current study I focus on transmission of religious outlook and practice from the first generation of immigrants to the second, utilizing for this analysis the constructs of habitus and field. In the following chapter I will analyze the religious outlook and practice in the habitus of the first generation in their original field, examine these same features in the new home which they have built in Israel (as expressed in such aspects as daily life and the education of children), and then compare this to the religious outlook and practice of the second generation. To do this I focus on the religious capital that the second generation's members had acquired in their childhood home and that has served them in their own lives in Israel - what has been passed on, what was left behind, and what aspects of their cultural, social, and symbolic capital were transformed.

Chapter 4

Methodology

This chapter begins with a discussion of the methodology adopted in the study, focusing in particular on the rationale for adopting a largely qualitative, constructivist and insider approach, as supplemented, in a mixed approach, by the limited quantitative element of a questionnaire. I then discuss the issues involved with my being an insider researcher, locating this within the sociological debate on insider research, and underlining how it relates to my positionality in the research. I go on to provide an overview of the research design and describe the methods of data collection - interviews and questionnaires - and the selection of a group of participants, split across two generations, along with the issues involved with translating interview transcripts from Hebrew into English. This is followed by an explanation of the methods used to analyze the data, and then a discussion of the approach to ethics adopted in this study.

4.1 Explanation of the Methodological Approach

4.1.1 Social Constructivism.

The present study is not primarily meant as an historical inquiry into the nature of Masorti Judaism, but, rather, as research into the religious outlook and practices of a small sample of Masorti Jews across two generations. Therefore, a post-positivist worldview that sees the researcher's motivation as an important factor in driving the research (as described in Patton, 2015, pp. 121-7) seems methodologically appropriate. My decision to use primarily qualitative tools, interviews, for this study, had stemmed from my recognition that the subject of the study - transmission of religious outlook and practices, of theory and practice, as explained in the previous chapter, between two generations - was more compatible with the post-positivistic worldview offered by qualitative research than with a positivist approach.

The purpose of this form of qualitative research is not the exposure of a monolithic reality. In its post-positivist vision, the constructivist methodological paradigm does not recognize the existence of one reality, but only the exploration of various interpretations of reality, which in turn serve to construct it as meaningful (Patton, 2015, pp. 121-2). I

have utilized this perspective in this study, in combination with the general Bourdieusian analytic worldview discussed in chapter 3. The research participants form a part of this constructed reality, which is itself constructed by the interplay between the researcher and the research participants (as described in Hazan, 2001). Thus, personal identity is seen as multidimensional, defined by many different and sometimes even contradictory parameters.

According to Maxwell (2008, p. 221) for certain “intellectual goals”, including understanding the meaning of events in the eyes of participants in a study, and illuminating the complex dynamics of social processes, qualitative studies possess a clear advantage over those assuming a quantitative approach. In seeking to understand the religious outlook and practices of Masorti Jews, I have been pursuing an understanding of subjective thought and behavioral decisions. Qualitative methods were therefore clearly more suitable to enabling the interviewees to sufficiently richly articulate their own perspectives where unquantifiable religious beliefs and values - i.e., religious outlook - were concerned.

Religious practice, in contrast, was to some extent quantifiable, in measuring which aspects of the halacha were kept by individuals (it was also more objective, in that the halacha exists as a body of law independently from individuals’ definitions, in contrast to religious outlook). Therefore I judged that it could be investigated using a questionnaire. For the most part, however, I have followed the semi-structured interview method, which constituted a dialectical process, wherein, as the interviewer, I asked structured questions attempting to trace the outlines of religious outlook and religious practice, so that my approach combined to some extent qualitative and quantitative elements. I have generally found there to be more objective elements in religious practice and fewer in religious outlook, chiefly because religious practice was anchored in the religious body of law that is the halacha, which is practically focused, and features quite specific, concrete expectations. Religious outlook was found to be more fluid, with the relevant questions of faith and interpretation of reality remaining highly subjective, and, as such, suitable for investigation through qualitative methods. This does, however, raise the question of the evaluation standards for the validity and rigor of qualitative research within the constructivist paradigm. Guba and Lincoln define constructivism’s intellectual goal as:

Understanding and reconstruction of the construction that people (including the inquirer) initially hold, aiming toward consensus but still open to new interpretations as information and sophistication improve (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 113, original emphasis).

In trying to guarantee plausibility within a qualitative methodology, therefore, we must keep in mind that, with both researcher and research subject influencing the subject under discussion by the very fact of their interaction, the research topic inevitably becomes subjective and contextually implicated. It is, therefore, important for the qualitative researcher to more specifically define the way in which they intend to approach and subsequently to interpret the researched phenomenon. In this context, Dunne, Pryor and Yates discuss the necessity for researchers to explicitly disclose their own politics, interests and values within the constructivist paradigm, as this paradigm recognizes “the inevitability of contamination of the social space that they invade in the research process” (Dunne, Pryor and Yates, 2005, Chapter 6, para. 16). A researcher will inevitably play a central role in the construction of the research, and as such will inevitably bias it, so that it is important to have this bias clearly acknowledged, rather than having its existence obscured by pretensions to an unachievable objectivity. In this respect, they represent the opposite side of the debate from scholars like Hammersley (1990), who retain an aspiration to neutrality and to a certain type of objectivity, despite operating within the post-positivist paradigm.

Mills, Bonner and Francis (2006a) offer three guidelines to counterbalance the problematic, overly powerful role of the constructivist researcher. The first is the need for the researcher to establish a relationship of reciprocity with the research participants, such that the latter react to and, thereby, take part in shaping the data emerging during the interview process. The researcher is thus not an ostensibly objective observer but plays the part of an active participant. Data gathered through such a process may generate deep and reflective thinking. Secondly, according to Mills et al (2006), researchers need to try and achieve an even balance of power between themselves and the participants. They may employ several strategies to achieve this: they might assume a non-judgmental approach toward participants, consider how differences and commonalities between participant and researcher affect the research process, or schedule interviews in line with the participants' needs, utilizing a flexible interview

scheme. Finally, the researchers should reflect on their own positionality as well as on their interest in the research topic:

This personal interrogation seeks to uncover underlying assumptions and make them explicit both to the researcher and, in time, to the readers of his or her study. . . . Memoing [*sic*] writing is essentially a reflective process that also provides the researcher with an opportunity to remember, question, analyse and make meaning about the time spent with participants and the data that were generated together (Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006a, pp. 10-11).

A researcher should thus recognize his or her own inevitable influence on the generation of the data, but at the same time attempt to prevent it from gaining a disproportionate effect, by the very act of making it transparent, and communicating it in writing. In this context, then, the act of interaction between researcher and research subject ought to be acknowledged as inevitably influencing the topic under investigation. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) argue that the researcher is in fact an inseparable part of the research, with the former's values and opinions necessarily influencing the research process, and necessitating a frank acknowledgement of this influence. Strauss and Corbin (1990, cited in Mills, Bonner, and Francis, 2006a) specify that reflexivity on the researcher's positionality may be achieved by having the researcher keep a journal in which they note thoughts and feelings, as well as reflections on the way these might affect the research throughout the working process. To this end, and as I will describe in greater detail further on in this chapter, I have kept a notebook in which I wrote down internal debates, decisions, thoughts and difficulties. It was with the commitment to reflexivity in mind, too, that I have provided a personal account of my dealings with the Masorti movement over the years. However, this structured difficulty of research did not seem to be something that could be entirely overcome.

4.1.2 Mixed Methods Research

The collection of data by a variety of methods, including questionnaires, is not foreign to qualitative research. Vulliamy discusses the advantages of combining a number of data collection methods:

One of the characteristics of using a qualitative research strategy is that researchers tend to incorporate a wider variety of specific data collection techniques than typically found in quantitative research . . . [including] data from in-depth interviews, a questionnaire survey and from official and semi-official documents (Vulliamy, 1990, p. 159).

For the purposes of the current study I have indeed made use of all three elements: interviews, a questionnaire, and analysis of two documents by the Masorti youth group NOAM.

Morgan (2007) offers a discussion of some of the issues involved in combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies. To begin with, he draws on Kuhn's classic 1962 work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, and its thesis regarding paradigmatic shifts within scientific research throughout history - in trying to account for the increased legitimacy, in recent decades, of qualitative research paradigms like constructivism's. According to Morgan, this legitimacy has been enabled through the gradual replacement, since the 1980s, of the "positivist paradigm", with its prioritization of quantitative methodology, by the new "metaphysical paradigm", chiefly through the influence of Guba and Lincoln. Under this new paradigm, argues Morgan, positivism came to be perceived as merely one among many possible "epistemological stances", including those of constructivism, and positivism thus became denaturalized as the automatic choice for all research. According to this interpretation and historicization of the development of scientific conventions, it is not only the transitions between dominant paradigms, but also the definitions of the paradigms themselves, that are in truth the result of power struggles between competing interest groups, rather than emerging naturally or 'scientifically' (Morgan, 2007, pp. 48-60).

The presentation of the transition between paradigms is important to Morgan because of his characterization of the new, "metaphysical" paradigm as holding a strong stance as to the incommensurability of the different "epistemological stances" it describes (these also included the stances of "critical theory", "post-positivism" and "participatory research"). A scholar who accepted a particular epistemological stance would, naturally, have to reject all the others, according to this paradigm. Thus, a combination of the kind to which I have pursued here, between quantitative and qualitative methodologies, would have been considered unacceptable. However, Morgan's (2007, pp. 60-1) diagnosis of the definitions of paradigms as being, themselves, politically implicated, problematizes this assumption of incommensurability between them. As he himself puts it:

This system might make sense if there were indeed clearly defined boundaries that separated paradigms into airtight categories, but this is highly unlikely in a world where paradigms are created through competition and cooperation among human researchers. . . . [This] calls into question the metaphysical paradigm's basic

attempt to “impose order” on the practices in social science research through an externally defined, a priori system from the philosophy of knowledge (Morgan, 2007, p. 61).

Morgan reinforces this assertion by noting that Guba and Lincoln themselves did not object to the combination of methodologies, but only specifically to the combination of the epistemological stances (or “paradigms”) themselves (Morgan, 2007, p. 64). Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner similarly note how Lincoln and Guba, as prominent spokespersons for the legitimization of qualitative methodologies, have expressed approval for careful combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007, pp. 116-7). Both Morgan (2007, pp. 70-2) and Johnson et al. (2007, p. 125) couch their advocacy of mixed research in the philosophy of pragmatism. Morgan notes pragmatism’s tendency to rely, instead of quantitative deduction or qualitative induction, on a process of *abduction*, that moves back and forth between them. Similarly, he argues that it suggests a compromise between the former’s overemphasis on objectivity and the latter’s on subjectivity, through its preference for intersubjectivity, as well as a compromise between either strict “generalizability” or “context-boundedness” in the preference for a thoughtful consideration of the question of “transferability”.

This advocacy of transferability thus arises from a solidly pragmatic focus on what people can do with the knowledge they produce and not on abstract arguments about the possibility or impossibility of generalizability. Instead, we always need to ask how much of our existing knowledge might be usable in a new set of circumstances, as well as what our warrant is for making any such claims.

Overall, I believe that an emphasis on abduction, intersubjectivity, and transferability creates a range of new opportunities for thinking about classic methodological issues in the social sciences (Morgan, 2007, p. 72).

This preference for a “middle way” - avoiding a dogmatic adherence to either extreme, is, to my mind, in line with this study’s already established commitment to scholarly reflexivity and wariness of reification. As Schwandt puts it:

All research is interpretive, and we face a multiplicity of methods that are suitable for different kinds of understandings. So the traditional means of coming to grips with one’s identity as a researcher by aligning oneself with a particular set of methods (or being defined in one’s department as a student of “qualitative” or “quantitative” methods) is no longer very useful. If we are to go forward, we need to get rid of that distinction (Schwandt, 2000, p. 210).

This caveat notwithstanding, it is worth locating the methodological approach of this study more precisely. Johnson et al. (2007) suggest the existence of a continuum, going from fully quantitative to fully qualitative methodology. I believe that the present study falls under what they (tentatively) define as the “qualitative dominant”, or QUAL+quan methodology:

Qualitative dominant mixed methods research is the type of mixed research in which one relies on a qualitative, constructivist-poststructuralist-critical view of the research process, while concurrently recognizing that the addition of quantitative data and approaches are likely to benefit most research projects (p. 124).

What this means, for the present purposes, is that the crux of the work involved in this study is qualitative, and the quantitative element is meant to bolster it, in an auxiliary position. In this context it is worth considering the specification, by Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989), as paraphrased, here, in Johnson et al. (2007), of five common rationales for mixed methodological studies:

(a) Triangulation (i.e., seeking convergence and corroboration of results from different methods studying the same phenomenon), (b) *complementarity* (i.e., seeking elaboration, enhancement, illustration, clarification of the results from one method with results from the other method), (c) development (i.e., using the results from one method to help inform the other method. (d) initiation (i.e., discovering paradoxes and contradictions that lead to a reframing of the research question), and (e) expansion (i.e., seeking to expand the breadth and range of inquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components) (pp. 115-6, emphasis added).

My intentions in introducing the questionnaire can best be understood, in the final analysis, as a quantitative supplementation of *complementarity* - seeking to elaborate and enhance the data on second-generation Masorti practitioners - to a *qualitatively dominant* methodological paradigm.

Such a qualitative approach still requires consideration of the special challenges of being an insider researcher, as I will now discuss.

4.2 Reflections on being an insider researcher

4.2.1 The insider researcher debate

The fact that I have served here as an insider researcher has particular significance in the context of the sociology of religion, where there has been an important debate on the

status of the insider researcher. In reconstructing the contours of this debate, Knott (2005) begins by noting the emergence of the ideal of the impartial scholar of religion, in the 19th century, in what became known as the *phenomenology of religion*. This approach aimed to sidestep questions of truth or falsity of religious belief and to merely focus on the way religion was experienced by practitioners. Such an attitude would prefer that a researcher be, or behave as, an outsider to the researched community. Knott describes how competing approaches have emerged, more recently, with the phenomenological approach critiqued as insufficiently sceptical, in its implicitly giving credence to religious claims, and the suggestion of the need for researchers to adopt a more unequivocally secular, more emphatically committed outsider role, in constructing a critical body of knowledge about religious activity. In contrast to this, there has emerged the “reflexive” approach, which considers total objectivity as not possible, and instead emphasizes the subjectivity of the scholar, and the need for awareness on the scholar’s part of his or her positionality in the research’s context, as either insider or outsider. Exponents of this approach, such as Flood (1999), Hufford (1995) and U. King (1995) (listed in Knott, 2005, p. 256, note 9) accuse past practitioners of the phenomenological approach of insufficient attention to the effect of the position of the researcher (as either religious or secular, and as, often, male and Western) on their research. According to this approach, being either an insider or an outsider to the research is significant in illuminating the researcher’s particular kind of subjectivity, with neither position necessarily preferable. It is this latter, reflexive approach which I adopt herein, as I will discuss in the following section.

In the context of her analysis, Knott (2005) describes a sociological researcher as existing somewhere on a spectrum that goes from complete observer (“outsider”), on the one hand, to complete participant (“insider”) on the other. I would claim that I do not constitute a complete participant, in this regard, but am more akin to the “participant-as-observer” position, which Knott (2005, pp. 252-4) describes as being represented by the work of Heilman (1984), who, as both a sociologist and an Orthodox Jew, studied his own synagogue community:

Heilman’s two purposes (and two worlds) are mirrored in his use of both ‘experience-near’ and ‘experience-distant’ concepts. He does not shy away from using Yiddish and Hebrew terms, but he also uses the language of religious studies and the social sciences in order to move his account beyond the descriptive and ethnographic to the analytical and theoretical. Repeatedly, he uses terms such as tradition, culture, liturgy and sacred text (rather than equivalent terms from

Orthodox Judaism), and also introduces social scientific concepts such as liminality . . . authenticity . . . and organising principle (Knott, 2005, p. 253).

Though Heilman (1984, cited in Knott, 2005, p. 253) speaks of feeling ultimately unable to fully reconcile both these worlds of his, I feel that his example is instructive. For one, it would provide a suitable answer to the kind of criticism raised by Singh, in the context of the study of Sikhism:

Western writers' attempt to interpret and understand Sikhism is an outsider's or non-participant's endeavour. . . . Primarily, religion is an area which is not easily accessible to the outsider, foreigner or non-participant. The inner meaning of a religion unfolds only through participation; by following the prescribed path and discipline (Singh, 1991, p. 3; cited in Knott, 2005, p. 244).

Knott (2005) also notes how Pearson's (2002) study of British Wicca attributes to the insider perspective not merely the advantage of the insider, but also the retained advantages of outsider researchers, and the further added advantage of the reflexivity engendered by moving between these two worlds, of insider and outsider. Quaker practitioner and scholar Collins (2002) is described by Knott as somewhat similarly contesting the implication that serving as an insider researcher precludes in some way the advantages belonging to the outsider researcher, or even that such a dichotomy is meaningful. In Knott's paraphrase of his view, "the distinction between insider and outsider becomes irrelevant when we recognise that all those who participate, whether of the faith or not, contribute to the co-construction of the story" (Knott, 2005, p. 254). Therefore, with objectivity not being achievable even when explicitly pursued, the value of conducting reflexive insider research is reinforced, provided one is careful to counter its own potential weaknesses.

4.2.2 My positionality as an insider researcher

While the considerations of the above-mentioned debate were all relevant to my work, the encounter between the research subjects and myself had some added, perhaps more unusual characteristics. As the director general of the Masorti movement, I may have appeared, for some, as a potential employer, and for others I was among the decision-makers influencing the budget of their congregation. Even research subjects who were not at the time of the interview directly associated with the Masorti movement often had relatives or acquaintances with whom I worked regularly. Conversely, I would argue that sometimes my positionality as an insider researcher, and in holding my professional

position, did enable me to get franker or richer responses. In speaking to NOAM graduates of the second-generation interviewee group, I sometimes felt that my position as an insider enabled me to understand with greater precision some of the NOAM lingo. “Anti-fundamentalism”, for instance, which is a word appearing in the NOAM anthem, carries connotations extending beyond the dictionary definition of the word. At other times I did fear that my professional position may have reflected in a negative way - a particular point may have been less honest. In some cases, when an interviewee spoke of *kashrut* (kosherness) observance, she or he seemed embarrassed by the fact of telling the director general of the movement about not keeping kosher, which suggested that in other situations embarrassment might have been too great for them to indeed tell me the truth.

It was, therefore, in line with these considerations, and with my commitment to conducting a rigorously reflexive, constructivist form of research, that I have approached my own role, hoping to approximate what Knott (2005) has conceptualized as the “participant-as-observer” subcategory of insider research in this study. Given my professional position, I believe my own position and empathies ought to be reasonably clear. In pursuing constructivist research, I have also adopted Guba and Lincoln’s call to aim for what they define as ‘authenticity’ – “the *authenticity* criteria of fairness, ontological authenticity (enlarges personal constructions), educative authenticity, leads to improved understanding of constructions of others), catalytic authenticity (stimulates to action), and tactical authenticity (empowers action)” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 114, original emphasis) - in that I have tried to give the interviewees as large and fair a place as possible in determining how they were to be understood, and in aiming to spur and encourage social action, both within the Israeli Masorti community and within the Israel field at large.

Seale (1999), too, emphasizes this latter aspect of authenticity in ensuring validity of qualitative research, in his overview of Guba and Lincoln’s work (which also discusses Guba and Lincoln, 1989). He notes that this notion of authenticity contains potentially problematic, specific political commitments to values such as mutual understanding and empowerment, suggesting that it would perhaps be better for researchers to be upfront about their political commitment (Seale, 1999, p. 469). It was in line with such concerns that I felt it was important for me to consider whether my own hopes and expectations would distort my interpretations of the study’s results and implications. This issue was

especially significant in that my involvement was not merely that of a practitioner, but also as a person at the head of Israel's Masorti movement's organizational efforts. I do not pretend to be dispassionate about the implications of this study. I have both a personal and professional stake in the growth and prosperity of the Masorti movement of Israel, and in expanding its influence over Israeli society. I have emphasized this to myself repeatedly over the course of the research, and have tried, to the extent that it was possible, to distance myself from the questions under discussions and from their apparent implications, at least while engaged in collecting the data. It was clear to me that a complete distancing was not possible, and perhaps not even advisable. The question of the ostensible objectivity of a researcher is especially salient in any study involving an insider-researcher, and the best way, to my mind, of dealing with this challenge is to commit to transparency - to point out and emphasize my implicatedness in the research questions throughout, and, where it is particularly problematic, to work to attempt to limit its effects.

The studies of Rothstein (1975), McPherson (1979) and Burgess (1983) have demonstrated the possibility for researchers to successfully reconcile their professional association with the research topic with good academic work. I have tried to learn from their experience. To this end, throughout my work I have carefully documented in a research diary the junctures at which I felt that my position was at risk of influencing various aspects of the research work.

Researchers typically assume a limited relationship with their subjects. This was unmistakably not the case here, where long-term familiarity with my study subjects was common. A major concern for me was how to maintain my role as interviewer, rather than as friend or colleague. During interviews, I took special care to maintain this role, by insisting on the interview protocol, and asking all of my questions without making assumptions as to what might be considered obvious either to me or to the interviewee. Despite this maintenance of a professional distance, one advantage of my familiarity with the interviewees was that I did not need to create close relationships from scratch, which presumably allowed a somewhat more comfortable and receptive starting point. On the other hand, I needed to take into account the fact that my closeness to the topic studied and to its participants could have adversely affected what might be considered the necessary distance required in the research relationship. However, the constructivist

paradigm is well suited to explaining the ways in which this closeness might in fact help to gain a deeper understanding of the Masorti movement and its people.

Another potentially problematic element was my personal stake in the research results. As I have said, I do not pretend to be neutral; I am not a disinterested observer. I believe that the values of Masorti Judaism can and ought to contribute significantly to life in Israel. Further, the Masorti movement's leadership - its chair and board of directors - are aware of the research I am conducting. They are pleased with the substance of the research, and, I would assume, are eagerly awaiting its results. The movement's human resources committee has given me, at my request, a weekly day off so that I might devote the necessary time for the conduct of serious research. Though much appreciated, this too added a potentially problematic element, as it could potentially provoke a situation of dependence, wherein the employer might have an expectation that could jeopardize the results of the study, in representing the movement in an overly flattering or inaccurate way.

4.3 Research Design

As discussed in the preceding section, this study was chiefly based on a qualitative methodological paradigm, with data gathered from individual interviews with two groups of Masorti Jews, all resident in Israel.

My primary research subject group, for the interviews, comprised 17 men and women, selected according to a purposive sampling approach, as I will explain in section 4.4.4. The first group of nine individuals were members of the first generation of Masorti Jewish immigration to the country, who had come from North America in the 1960s and 1970s. The second group consisted of eight members of the second generation of Masorti-Jewish immigrants in Israel. This was a group of young adults who were born in Israel; the children – metaphorically though not, except in two cases, biologically - of the first-generation group. In-depth interviews were conducted with members of both groups, in order to understand their viewpoints on Jewish-religious outlook and practice. I follow Mason (2010) in viewing qualitative research as concerned not with large numbers but with meaning. My concern was less with the frequency of the phenomenon and more with each participant's point of view, as understood through a Bourdieusian analysis.

Upon setting out on the research, I had assumed that the conduct of the interviews would suffice to answer the research questions. However, it so happened that, even while in the midst of conducting the interviews, and especially during those with the second-generation group, I had begun to feel that the study would benefit from a further perspective on the issues raised by this diverse group. This ultimately led me to decide to pursue further understanding of this generation via a questionnaire (see Appendix B), organized around certain themes that had emerged in the interviews, that would thus further investigate certain aspects of religious practice in the day-to-day lives of respondents. Thus, in addition to the data gathered in the seventeen interviews, further information was ultimately gleaned from this questionnaire, completed by an additional thirty different individuals from the second generation.

4.3.1 The research process

The current study has taken its form in eight distinct stages. The first of these was the initial formulation and development of the research questions and the research design. My thinking about this study had emerged from a sustained observation on my part of Masorti Judaism in Israel, with particular emphasis on the founding generation, which had laid down the infrastructure for the establishment of the Masorti movement in the State of Israel, and on the generation of their immediate descendants, which, according to the former's expectations, were meant to continue in its footsteps. My intention was to investigate the religious differences between the groups. Following the decision to enact a cross-generational comparison, I deliberated as to the definition of each generational group (the appropriate age-group for "first generation" interviewees, as well as their year of immigration to Israel, and the corresponding age for the "second generation" interviewees). This question was ultimately resolved with the Six-Day War of 1967 as a basic frame of reference, as the point in time after which the majority of the immigrants that would found the Masorti movement in Israel had arrived. These, then, would be the "first generation" - Masorti Jews who had made *aliyah* (see Glossary) to Israel in (approximately) the decade following the Six-Day War and who had been involved in founding Masorti communities during these years. Most were in their late twenties or early thirties in the years when they had made *aliyah*. This also determined the corresponding age-group for what would be termed the "second generation".

Next was the formulation of the research questions. I wanted to examine the differences between the two generations, their religious identities' definition, and the degree of their religious commitment. However, the suitable, correct, and effective way to convert these issues into precise research questions proved exceedingly complex. I had gone through a long journey, as a researcher, with several drafts of research questions, until I arrived at their final formulation. I wrote and amended, read theoretical material, consulted my supervisors time and again. It was a long road, but full of valuable lessons. The chief difficulty, retrospectively, was in the necessity to focus the investigation. Small-scale research necessitates correspondingly small-scaled questions. The 'big questions' – wide-ranging quests to explain social phenomena categorically – were not suitable for the kind of research I was pursuing. It is also noteworthy that, while conducting the research and collecting the data, it was necessary for me to fine-tune the research questions even further. The significance of this is that the questions, as formulated at this stage, were for these reasons not entirely identical to what I ultimately decided to define as the research questions.

The second stage of the research involved the characterization of the theoretical context. The decision regarding research methods emerged while I was beginning to define the scope of the two interviewee groups. Initially, my inclination had been to investigate as many people as possible from each group, in the assumption – which, following my readings, I was to revisit – that in order to reach valuable and significant conclusions, I had to construct a representative sample and to collect data through quantitative methods. After studying the subject, and reading theoretical writings about and different studies utilizing the qualitative paradigm, I arrived at the conclusion that for this study the latter was more appropriate. However, at a later stage, as I have noted, I decided to supplement the study with a limited quantitative element, in the use of a questionnaire.

A second important aspect of the theoretical context had to do with the methods of data analysis, in attempting to answer the research questions. I debated with myself whether to use the work of Erving Goffman or of Pierre Bourdieu. To begin with I thought that I would rely on the thought of both, analyzing the findings according to the theoretical approaches of each in turn. However, as I progressed in the research, I came to the conclusion that Bourdieu by himself, without the support of Goffman, would provide a more suitable theoretical infrastructure for confronting the research questions. This was not an easily reached decision, as I found Goffman's (1959) dramaturgic approach, with

its theatrical metaphors, captivating, intuitively sensible, and intellectually exciting. However, after delving more deeply into the Bourdieusian model, I eventually concluded that, for the purpose of this particular study, it would improve its precision, as I understand it, if I focused exclusively on Bourdieu, giving him his due, in sufficient depth, and avoided the supplementation by the dramaturgic theory. This conviction was reinforced upon my exposure to studies which utilized Bourdieusian theory as a central, exclusive organizing model. This encouraged me to conceive of Bourdieusian theory as sufficiently wide-ranging, complex, and holistic in its scope to comprehend the phenomenon of intergenerational transmission. I also felt that my research was likely to be more coherent if I did not combine into it a second theory, Goffman's, which I came to see as not strictly required for an understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

The third stage of the research process involved the development of the research tools. This formed a critical stage in the research, necessitating, at least in the current study's context, great pause and contemplation. I restrained the inclination to set out immediately on the work of data collection, and considered, through theoretical and research readings, what the recommended ways were of constructing a research group, what the possible types of interview were, and how best to utilize them. Having settled on these, I began the process of seeking out interviewees and dividing them into the two groups, as detailed in section 4.4.4 of this study, and formulated a semi-structured interview scheme that would guide me during the interviews themselves.

The fourth stage was the conduct of the interviews themselves. This formed, without doubt, the most enjoyable stage for me in the research, in the unmediated contact it afforded with the objects of research, while collecting interview data. This stage began with the setting of a time and place for the interview. Usually the preliminary correspondence was through email, and after the initial granting of consent and explanation of what was to be involved, there would be a phone call to determine the date and location for the interview. I conducted 16 interviews (with 17 interviewees – one interview became a couple's joint interview), and the amount of information gathered in these interviews lasting between one and two hours turned out to be immense. I found that during the interviews themselves, I was not aware of the scope of data collected, and only retrospectively, facing the texts' transcripts (which at this stage

were still in Hebrew), did I realize the amount of text I would have to process later on in the research.

The fifth stage involved the study of the historical background of Masorti Judaism, globally and in Israel. With the current study touching, among other things, on the consolidation and development of the religious identity of Jews defining themselves as Masorti, it was important to me to anchor the study in the historical-developmental context of Masorti Judaism, the background against which it had originated over a hundred years ago, the way in which it had developed in Europe and then in North America, and its first stages in the State of Israel, chiefly in the seventies and the eighties of the previous century. This stage of the research was chiefly theoretical, based on academic readings and an attempt to reconstruct a historical and theoretical continuity that would grant depth to the study. At this stage I also began the reading of the interviews' transcripts.

In the sixth stage of the research I decided to supplement the study with a second data collection method. After having conducted the interviews, and following my readings of the translated transcripts so as to begin the state of analysis, I felt that in order to more fully contend with the research questions, in attempting a more comprehensive account of the differences present between the first and the second generations, especially as related to the practical aspects of Jewish religiosity, it was necessary to supplement my data regarding the second generation. I deliberated how to do this, and after some more theoretical readings learned of the ways in which to combine, even in the context of qualitative research, certain quantitative elements. It was in view of this that I formulated the questionnaires, and thus effectively enlarged the research group of second-generation participants. These questionnaires would indeed yield highly valuable data, providing an important complement to the interviews' findings.

This led to the seventh, central stage of the analysis of the data and the initial identification of the central organizing themes. The processing of the large amounts of data - especially that data which had been collected in interviews - required considerable investment of time and concentration. It was an arduous effort of transcription, but the lion's share of the time expenditure was on the reorganization of the long texts under central, recurring themes, in the first-generation group's transcripts and then in the second's, and then, following the work on each generation, the

comparison of the manifestation of these recurring themes between the groups. I have described in section 4.6 some of the details of this complex process.

The organization of the interview transcripts by themes, though it was meaningful for the comprehension and analysis of the data, did not ultimately provide adequate expression to an important feature that emerged in the interviews – the distinction between religious outlook (the Masorti ideology of the interviewees), and the day-to-day, practical religious manifestations of their religiosity. This distinction, which is manifested in this study in the distinct conceptualizations of “religious outlook” and “religious practice”, is what has given me the opportunity to anchor the developments and changes occurring between the two generations in a unified thematic framework, in the context of which I have tried to draw conclusions. The decision to characterize the differences between the two generations through the division into religious outlook and religious practice subsequently helped me to reformulate in a more precise way the research questions, at this stage in the research.

The eighth and final stage was the composition and presentation of the study. These eight separate stages are represented here in tabular form:

Stage 1	Initial development and shaping of research design and research questions.
Stage 2	Characterization of the theoretical context and of the research methods chosen. Decision to focus solely on Bourdieu.
Stage 3	Development of the research tools.
Stage 4	Interviews with both generational groups.
Stage 5	Study of the historical background of Masorti Judaism. Initial analysis of the interview transcripts.
Stage 6	Decision to introduce questionnaire.
Stage 7	Data analysis of all data and initial identification

	<p>of themes.</p> <p>Decision taken to differentiate religious outlook and religious practice, as the two primary categories of data analysis.</p> <p>Shaping of the main themes within each category.</p> <p>Reformulation of research questions.</p>
Stage 8	Final presentation of study.

4.4 The Use of Interviews

4.4.1 Selection of interview style

In the present study, interviews were the chief data collection tool. My basic approach entailed the utilization of an in-depth interview. The fundamental structure of the in-depth interview, according to Taylor and Bogdan (1984) is a conversation; a dialogue between interviewer and interviewee. It would not have the character of a formal exchange of questions and answers, but rather would take various forms, from spontaneous through semi-structured to fully-structured interviews (Freeman, 1988).

Patton's (2015, pp. 437-42) categorization identifies three kinds of interview: The informal conversational interview; the guided interview; and the standardized open-ended interview

- (1) The informal conversational interview: Proceeds naturally, with the interviewees sometimes not aware that they are being interviewed, and the interviewer preparing nothing in advance. The dynamic would vary from interviewee to interviewee.
- (2) The interview guide approach: Involves pre-preparation of topics or questions of interest, and a general, standardized program for all interviews. This interview is meant to increase the comprehensiveness of the data and increase its systematic nature, while maintaining a conversational form of interview.
- (3) The standardized open-ended interview: Involves a fixed series of pre-determined open-ended questions. With respondents answering the same questions, the comparability of the responses increases, and interviewer effects and bias are reduced by utilizing several interviewer in this scheme.

My chosen interview method entailed something of a compromise between Patton's "standardized open-ended" and "interview guide" approaches. I began this study's interviews with a number of basic, closed questions about the biographical background of the research participants. I followed this with a series of very general open questions, intended to elicit a discussion of personal Jewish-religious orientation. At the third stage of the interview, I presented a series of open questions, which I had organized and prepared in advance. These were intended to aid me in learning about the religious practices, if any, characterizing each research subject. The interview was, thus, characterised by a general preference for open questions over closed ones, so as to give a substantial leeway to interviewees, stimulating them to express themselves rather than predisposing them to any particular kind of answers. Many researchers (e.g., L. Cohen and Manion, 1994; Benjamin, 1996; Peres and Yaziv, 1984; Patton, 2015) discuss the distinction between the open-ended and the closed types of questions, and the ways in which open questions enable interviewees to answer according to their own priorities. Open questions thus allow for greater autonomy in the interviewee's formulation of responses, and provide both researcher and research subject with a considerable degree of flexibility. In the absence of an absolute, essential differentiation between worldview and day-to-day behaviors in the context of religiosity, the open-ended interview approach seemed more appropriate.

4.4.2 The interview process

One of the challenges facing an insider researcher is the existing relationship between him or herself and the object of their study. This situation has both advantages and disadvantages for research in general. However, this particular case was more potentially problematic, due to my position as the director general of the Israeli Masorti movement, and thus as the most senior professional, at the top of Masorti Judaism's organizational framework in Israel. Some of the participants had working relations of some kind with me, whether as community leaders or as professionals.

I have tried to minimize this influence as much as possible, and ultimately none of the participants were in regular, direct, day-to-day working relations with me. Some were people I had a superficial acquaintance with, made through visits in different congregations around the country in the context of my work for the movement, while others were recommended by members and lay leaders of the community as potentially

useful to understanding common patterns to their generation. Using the movement's database of emails, I contacted the relevant individuals to check if they were interested. I had chosen email over a phone call as the preliminary stage, in trying to avoid a feeling of intrusion, even for participants with whom I was already somewhat acquainted, and ultimately nobody expressed surprise or resentment at receiving an email. When the response was positive, a second email was sent, to coordinate expectations and to set the framework for a research interview. I also used the email to underscore that the research project was not part of my professional work, and emphasized my commitment to confidentiality and to full anonymity for the participants.

I considered the question of interview venue to be crucial to the success of the interview. Therefore, I allowed the interviewees to select the location. Most wished to meet in their homes, or in a coffeehouse. Having arrived at the agreed-upon location, I made sure that I was friendly but purposeful. I took care to arrive semi-formally dressed (button-down shirt and long trousers). After a handshake and brief small talk, I reintroduced the aims of the study, the way it was to be conducted, and my ethical obligation of confidentiality.

Before the beginning of each interview, I took a tape-recorder out of my bag, and asked permission to record the conversation. From my experience as a former journalist, I was aware of the potential for a tape-recorder to make interviewees nervous, changing the atmosphere by making them overly cautious or formal. In attempting to forestall this, I explained at length why the tapes were needed, and how they would be used for as faithful as possible a transcription of what has been said. I clarified that if there were any objections we could forgo the taping, but that then I would have to write down the whole interview, which would be technically difficult and would reduce recording accuracy. Following this explanation, I used the tape-recorder to record myself, and replayed it for the two of us to hear, hoping thereby to demonstrate its character as useful, natural, and non-threatening. Fortunately, none of the interviewees ultimately objected.

In accordance with the semi-structured interview model I had chosen to use, I had prepared a series of preliminary questions (after the aforementioned more technical, biographical questions), meaning to use the former as a framework, or axis for the direction of the conversation, in order to keep it from going too far off topic and making

it difficult for me to make a coherent comparison between interviews. The topics I aimed for in the conversation comprised a combination of outlook-based and practical features of the interviewees' religious outlook and practice.

Typically, the conversation would begin with the interviewees describing their upbringing in their parents' home - the characteristics of the Masorti-Jewish climate, so to speak, under which they had grown up. Then, as dependent on the flow of conversation, I would ask about the way the interviewees defined their religious orientation; their belief in God; the relative importance of belonging to community, as children as well as today; and the Jewish customs the interviewee kept and those they abandoned. I tried to gently direct the conversation to topics of concrete religious practice - when and how often the interviewee visited the synagogue; their attitude to Shabbat and to observance of the kashrut rules; the routine of prayer and the laying of *tefillin* (see Glossary). I also asked about the desire or ability to pass their religious-Jewish worldview on to their offspring. With first-generation interviewees, I wanted to hear about the way they had raised their children, the values they had wanted to instill in them and whether these aspirations were ultimately realized. With second-generation interviewees, I asked about the educational characteristics and religious-Jewish atmosphere in their home, and about their hopes for their children; what would they consider an educational success in this respect?

When appointments took place in coffee shops, it often happened that, as the conversation wound down, the question of the bill would arise. My inclination was to pay the bill for the both of us, but I did not want this to be felt as patronizing. For several seconds the familiar dance of both people reaching for their wallets would take place, but I always made sure to be the one to pay, since I had requested the meeting. In retrospect, the interviews that took place outside the participants' home were the more relaxed, spontaneous and open, suggesting a more equal, reciprocal role in the co-generation of the interview data. This would seem somewhat counterintuitive, in that people interviewed in their own homes, particularly when they themselves have invited you there, might have been expected to feel a comparatively greater sense of power and control during the conversation. As it happened, however, the interviews in private homes ended up feeling less comfortable, and seeming like they put the participants at a disadvantage. Perhaps the interviewees felt exposed. I had entered their personal space, their neighborhood, seeing those things you learn about people from their living room

or kitchen. These factors, I imagine, together with the already intimate questions and personal topics discussed, occasionally created slight embarrassment. It was not always something one could pin down precisely, but it could be sensed. The atmosphere created by these circumstances, however, in my opinion, ultimately only slightly diminished the interviewees' willingness to open up to me. The closeness felt during the conduct of the interview, and the typically warm way in which interviewees parted with me, often extended from the polite handshake to a hug, remained strongly suggestive of an ultimately intimate encounter.

4.4.3 Translation of transcripts

All of the interviews were conducted in Hebrew and recorded and subsequently transcribed in Hebrew by myself. The division and consolidation of the transcript into themes was, likewise, done entirely in Hebrew. Once the themes were established, I began writing the analysis of the transcripts itself, and after the first draft emerged, I had the text translated into English. I had to consider several translators before finding the suitable one, bearing in mind the fact that translation is not merely or essentially technical, but often produces different or extraneous meanings to the original. The choice of translator proved successful, with translations on the whole being accurate enough and ensuring that I did not have to concern myself with too many corrections. However, in examining the translation it became clear to me that I must exercise special caution when quoting interviewees directly because – as distinct from a text composed by myself, as a researcher, functioning as its owner and thus capable of modifying and improving it - these quotes were meant to represent their speakers as they spoke them, and thus ought to be free from any inadvertent alteration by either myself or the translator. One interesting example concerns the word “masorti”, which refers, in Hebrew, both to Masorti as a denomination of Judaism, and to “masoret” (tradition) generally. The translator's efforts had not always agreed with my intentions with this word, as it transpired, with him sometimes misunderstanding the context of the quote. In these instances I corrected the translation, of course, according to the relevant context in the Hebrew description. Because the process of the consolidation of the themes had been long and involved, I knew well - sometimes verbatim - the details and context involved in what participants had said. Thus it was that when I examined the translations of the quotes into English I could relatively easily recognize instances

where the translator had not chosen the most appropriate word. Notwithstanding this, I often went back to the original quotes, to make sure.

Despite the difficulties presented by the translation, I would contend that despite the fact that the interviews were conducted in Hebrew and processed and transcribed in Hebrew prior to being translated into English, I have still managed to provide an account true to the intentions of the participants. While it is true that translation between languages is not a precise art, the fact that we are dealing here with the translation of a text (as opposed to a simultaneous, verbal translation), and that I, as the researcher writing the study, have studied, proofread, and where necessary rewritten the translated text, suggests that the risk of inaccuracies and misinterpretation has been substantially diminished.

4.4.4 **The interviewees**

While attempting to construct an appropriate sample of interviewees, there arose the problem of ensuring the adequate transferability of its insights. I did not want the sample to be arbitrary - i.e., a random selection of interviewees from the first generation and from the second generation on the basis of a list of phone numbers. Rather, the aim was to learn from and draw inferences about a broad generational phenomenon, and therefore required a purposive sampling strategy, focusing on “*information-rich cases* for in-depth study. . . [and yielding] insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations” (Patton, 2015, p. 264, original emphasis). In the present case, I opted for a “quota sampling” approach (Robson and McCartan, 2016, p. 279; Patton, 2015, p. 285), working to include participants from diverse segments of the relevant population. This entailed consideration of factors such as city of residence, level of education, the extent of their involvement in the activities of the Masorti movement, and gender. While this form of sampling is far from representative and liable to possible personal bias in interviewee selection, I believe that the fact that I am myself was a member of the same community while making the selection, and the depth with which the individuals’ interviews were analyzed, may compensate for these potential weaknesses.

Selection of the members for each group was thus not random. The selection criteria were informed by my experience and familiarity with a wide range of members of the

Masorti movement in Israel from both generations. Thus, I had known some of the interviewees before interviews began, which I realize is somewhat unusual. I also consulted some of the previous director generals of the movement, and benefitted from their knowledge and experience. I had defined parameters for each of the following variables: gender, place of residence, level of religious lifestyle, and level of involvement in Masorti institutions. It was essential to me that the sample groups would include: (a) participants of both genders; (b) participants from at least six locations throughout Israel; (c) participants representing a range of religious-Jewish literacy and/or lifestyle. Therefore, I included both the religiously better educated and less educated; those more committed to a halachic lifestyle and those less so; inhabitants of central Israel and of the periphery; people closely associated with the Masorti movement and people who were no longer connected or almost unconnected to it. Age was also taken into consideration, in both generations, with first-generation participants in the 65-80 age range, and second-generation participants in the range of 25-40. The interviewees were identified through community lists as well as through my personal familiarity with them, according to the variables and parameters mentioned above.

Sampling for the qualitative aspect of this study followed an age-based division into two generations: The first generation (n=9) were in the age-group of the founders of the Masorti movement in Israel and the second generation (n=8) were the contemporaries of their children.

I debated, while designing the research, whether to base it on familial relations - i.e., to conduct interviews with parents and with their children - or, on the contrary, to avoid any family relation within the groups interviewed. While the possibility of basing this study on familial relations was quite practicable, I preferred to ensure that most interviewees were not blood-related. My reasoning for this was that I wanted to characterize a specific cross-generational phenomenon in as wide a way as possible. Constructing a sample based on organic families might have led to a more in-depth, particularized consideration, both of historical (the story of the family) and psychological (intra-familial dynamics) aspects in each family that was not this study's primary interest, while also reducing opportunities to assess significant potential influences on the construction of Jewish identity within each generation. A focus on familial stories would thus have necessitated a diminution in the number of interviewees. During arrangements for interviews with some first-generation participants, I did

become curious about the possibility of speaking with their biological children, and ultimately conducted two such interviews. Retrospectively, this should perhaps have been avoided, so as to maintain consistency, but I do not believe these interviews were ultimately different in character than interviews with second-generation participants whose parents were not involved in the study. It was for similar reasons that the sample did not deliberately include married interviewees, even though each generational group also presented such opportunities. Most of the interviewees were not related, with the exception of two pairs (one father-and-daughter pair and one mother-and-daughter one).

It transpired, however, that despite this precaution, a spontaneous interview with a couple emerged. This involved a man in his late sixties, with whose wife I had scheduled an interview. I had made an appointment with her at their home in the central region of Israel. The interview had begun conventionally, and half an hour later, the husband arrived home. He had known about the interview and about the appointment. He and his wife had come from a similar background of activism within the Masorti movement, and he asked, naively, if he could join in. I was uncertain at the beginning. From her body language, I obtained the impression that his wife was also hesitant. However, the husband did not notice or, if he did, chose to ignore our reluctance, and invited himself to join the conversation. In this way, the one-on-one interview developed into a couple's interview. In my research journal, I noted that the woman became less frank, less willing to reveal herself, from the moment her husband joined in to the conversation. Having conducted an analysis of the transcript itself, I am no longer certain that this was indeed the case. It is possible that the woman's slightly hesitant body language from the moment her husband joined us distorted my impression. In any event, it was actually this unplanned contingency that provided the interview with an added dimension, revealing different approaches within the family - differences that in this case were relevant both to religious practices in the home and to the education of children. The fact of having interviewed both people might well have resulted in a more detailed picture of their experiences as a family within the movement, than what could have emerged from an interview solely with the wife, and so I ultimately elected not to ignore them, but retroactively to include the husband in the first-generation sample. Thus, while I had intended to interview eight members of the first generation, I eventually interviewed nine.

One interesting and certainly noteworthy point, which I noticed only at the analysis and composition stage, was the fact that there was a gender imbalance between the interviewees in this study. The first generation had a male majority and the second generation a female. I do not think that this has unduly influenced the study, in part because the religious philosophy of the Masorti movement advocates gender equality. In retrospect I think I would have done better to aim for a gender balance across the two groups. I had not given strong attention to gender balance, especially because I had not seen it as particularly important in the context of a movement strongly devoted to egalitarianism. In retrospect, it would have been better to more strongly insist on it, beyond maintaining a minimum of two individuals of each gender in each generational group, though I have found that commitment to egalitarianism was a very meaningful feature in the statements of interviewees of both genders, which I feel alleviates these concerns to some extent.

The First-Generation Participants

Having changed the names and identifying biographical details, I provide a summary below of the nine interviewees from the first-generation sample group:

Betty: Lives in central Israel. Belongs to a large Masorti congregation which she has helped establish. Her children were sent to Masorti schools - affiliated with TALI and the NOAM youth movement.

Adam: A central figure in the Masorti congregation which he has helped establish.

Yaakov: Lives in central Israel. Has obtained rabbinical ordination, but has never worked as a community rabbi. Active in the congregation of which he is among the founders, and has helped found the national movement.

Moshe: Lives in southern Israel and is a central figure in the Masorti congregation which he has helped establish.

Devorah: Lives in southern Israel. Regularly attends the Masorti congregation where she lives. All of her children have been educated in the NOAM youth movement.

Ron: Has earned rabbinical ordination but has never worked as a community rabbi in Israel. Lives in Jerusalem, near a Masorti congregation which he has helped establish.

Yitzhak: Lives in Jerusalem. Has been active in two Masorti congregations, one in northern Israel, following his arrival in Israel, and the second, where he is active today, in the center of the country.

Gershon: Had been active in a Masorti congregation in central Israel, and was among the founders of the Masorti congregation in the place where he presently lives.

Yonatan: Lives in Northern Israel, and is an academic. Has earned rabbinical ordination but has never worked as a community rabbi in Israel. Has been active in two Masorti congregations.

The Second-Generation Participants:

Contacting members of the second generation proved harder than contacting members of the first. Here, for the first time in the study, I also encountered refusals. This was the case with the daughter of first-generation interviewee Yonatan. In his interview, Yonatan told me about his daughter who, he said, although defining herself as *hiloni*, was not alienated from her Jewish identity, and would not hesitate to use and demonstrate the knowledge that she had accumulated as a child in a Masorti home. He described in detail a certain role that had been offered to his daughter in her professional field that required working in a setting with Orthodox girls. He noted with satisfaction that his daughter knew how to dress in accordance with the rules of this setting, and how to pray with the girls and thus earn their trust and that of the administration. In my research journal, I recorded my attempt to interview Yonatan's daughter. I called Yonatan some days after my interview with him, and asked for his daughter's email address, but he was not quick to provide these. He said that he would check with her and get back to me. I waited several days and sent him an email. I again thanked him for the interview we had conducted and asked if he had received his daughter's permission for me to contact her. Yonatan, who was generally a cordial person and responsive to email messages, did not reply to me for over a week. Only after an additional email from me, he wrote a brief reply, seemingly embarrassed: "Yizhar, I apologize. My daughter is not interested in being interviewed for a study."

It is hard to know and there is no point in speculating about the nature of the conversation between Yonatan and his daughter that had preceded his email to me. It seemed to me that Yonatan very much wanted his daughter to be interviewed. He may

have also wanted to confront her, using the research topic, with her current Jewish identity; to inspire reflection, and perhaps encourage a conversation between them. He may in fact have succeeded, but the interview that I requested did not materialize.

Having changed identifying details, I present here the eight second-generation interviewees:

Daniela: In her mid-twenties. Born in Israel, daughter to parents who had emigrated from the US at the end of the 1970s and settled in a small community of a Masorti nature in Northern Israel.

Leah: A rabbi in her thirties. Received a Masorti education, from TALI elementary school through the NOAM youth movement and up to the Masorti rabbinical seminary.

Sarit: In her mid-thirties. Had grown up in central Israel. Was educated in Masorti schools and the NOAM youth movement.

Erez: In his forties; married and a father. Lives in the central region of the country. Grew up in a Masorti congregation in the North.

Tal: In her late thirties. Born in Jerusalem, where she still lives today. Grew up in a Masorti congregation which her parents had helped found. Was educated in institutions of the Masorti movement from kindergarten through high school.

Ran: In his thirties; married. Lives in a community near Jerusalem. Son of parents who had immigrated in the late 1970s and settled in Jerusalem. Was educated at a Masorti elementary school, and had been active in NOAM until high school.

Dalit: In her late twenties; single. Lives in Jerusalem. Her parents were pillars of the Masorti community where she had grown up - a city in southern Israel. Was educated in Masorti institutions from childhood.

Dikla: In her late twenties; lives in Jerusalem with her same-sex partner. Grew up in a Masorti congregation in Jerusalem and was educated in Masorti institutions.

The personal details of the interviewees are summarized herein:

Name	Gender	Age
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Betty	Female	Late 60s
Adam	Male	Late 60s
Yaakov	Male	Late 60s
Moshe	Male	Mid 70s
Devorah	Female	Mid 60s
Ron	Male	Late 70s
Yitzhak	Male	Mid 60s
Gershon	Male	Mid 60s
Yonatan	Male	Late 60s

Name	Gender	Age
Daniela	Female	Mid 20s
Leah	Female	Mid 30s
Sarit	Female	Mid 30s
Erez	Male	Early 40s
Tal	Female	Late 30s
Ran	Male	Mid 30s
Dalit	Female	Late 20s
Dikla	Female	Late 20s

4.5 The use of a Questionnaire

4.5.1 Questionnaires as a tool in qualitative research

I would like to describe how the combination of in-depth interviews and anonymous questionnaires has seemed, from a pragmatist perspective, a highly useful complement in attempting to contend with the research questions I had set. While the in-depth interview remained the chief data collection tool, with the interviews enabling me to crystallize the main research finding, I was concerned that data gleaned from them alone

would not prove sufficient for satisfactorily rich analysis of the second-generation group. This group appeared to present a greater challenge for my attempted analysis, because of the fluid and somewhat elusive nature of their participation and presence, if any, in Masorti religious settings. I believed that data gathered from a quantitative questionnaire completed by peers of a similar background could profitably supplement the in-depth interview data. It was in light of this that I made the decision to include the questionnaires, which were targeted at the second generation only, under full anonymity. This also had to do with the fact that a major motivation for myself, in undertaking this study, in the first place, was the desire to better understand the second generation, who are regarded, per the movement's strategic goals, as the source of the next cadre of leaders of Masorti Judaism in Israel. Gaining a deeper insight into their religious outlook, and in particular into their religious practices, seemed potentially very helpful in constructing future policies and leadership initiatives. Despite the obvious drawbacks of the questionnaire as a research tool, in the lack of space it leaves for consideration of the nuances of meaning in respondents' statements, I felt that in a strictly supplementary capacity, the inclusion of quasi-statistics on the second generation would be instructive for the purposes of careful speculations on more general trends potentially present in it. On reflection, the utilization of questionnaire for the first generation as well would have likely strengthened the study, in providing validation and greater precision to its insights, but I did not see the importance of this at the time.

One of the clear advantages of the use of a questionnaire, according to Zemach and Beyt-Marom (1986), is in its uniformity, which enables comparison across a broad range of research subjects. All subjects answer the same questions, within a fixed response range, which allows the researcher to cover all aspects of a topic. The self-administered questionnaire also cancels out the potential indirect influences of the presence, body language and movements of the interviewer on respondents, as well as countering many of the issues involved with the researcher's positionality. On the other hand, it is easier for questionnaire respondents to respond offhandedly, or even to avoid answering entirely, avoiding the exposure of things that one was uncomfortable acknowledging about oneself. In this particular case, the questionnaire respondents group was comparatively small.

4.5.2 Content of the questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendix B) was intended to serve chiefly, though not exclusively, as an exploration of the practical manifestations of Jewish religiosity for this generation. Masorti Judaism requires a Jew to live a halachic life (Golinkin, 1991). While many members of the Masorti movement, in both Israel and the Diaspora, do not fully adhere to halachic principles, Gordis (2003) holds that they generally maintain reverence and appreciation for Jewish law and standards. I was chiefly interested in Shabbat and kashrut observance, as halachic commitments considered particularly important within Israeli-Jewish discourse, and in the ways that the research subjects saw themselves in the context of the conventional definitions of Jewish religiosity in Israel.

A short questionnaire, composed mainly of closed questions, and amenable to quantitative analysis, was distributed to a group of 30 men and women altogether from the second generation, who had not participated in the interviews. The questionnaire was completed by people who had responded of their own initiative to an online advertisement addressed to the second generation of the Masorti movement, and calling for participation in a survey. It consisted of questions regarding the second generation's religious outlook and religious practice as adults, and those aspects of religiosity important to them to transmit to their own children.

The questionnaire opened with biographical questions relevant to the study: Year of birth, place of birth (or year of immigration to Israel), and manner of affiliation of the family with a Masorti congregation.

Two short open questions followed the biographical questions: One asked for a personal description of the congregation the participant had grown up in, and the next asked the same question regarding the congregation in which they were a member - if they indeed still were a member - today.

The rest of the questionnaire, comprising 16 questions, inquired about a variety of practical religious behaviors, and about whether they characterized the participant themselves, along with asking about their religious expectations from their children (or potential future children). Some of the questions in these questionnaires reproduced interview questions. For example, I asked, "How do you feel about the community you grew up in?" and "Is it important to you that your children regularly attend synagogue?" I asked questions about maintaining religious-Jewish practices (keeping Shabbat,

fasting on Yom Kippur (see Glossary) etc.) seeking to gain a broader idea of halachic-observant tendencies among this generation. The questionnaire also inquired about the participants' view of their community's past and present, thus allowing me a broader understanding of where many second-generation members' belonged on the spectrum of religiosity, between full secularism and fully committed halacha-observing Judaism.

For a copy of the questionnaire, see Appendix B.

4.5.3 The respondents to the questionnaire

A group of 30 men and women of the second generation ultimately answered the questionnaires. I had first sent out a general email to people who had signed up following a notification that I sent to the Masorti movement's email subscribers' list. This produced 22 commitments to respond to the survey. Not yet satisfied with this number, I sent another email to the subscribers' list the following week. Of the people who responded now, I took the first 8 as a supplement, and within a few days, 30 people had agreed to fill in the questionnaires. This group was composed of 16 women and 14 men, most of whom had attended Masorti synagogues in their childhood, and had been TALI pupils and members of the NOAM youth movement. The ages of the members of this group ranged from 27 to 45. They resided in a variety of settlements throughout the country, some with their own families and some single. Only a minority were members of a Masorti or other denomination's synagogue. In terms of profession, almost half of the participants worked in education, social work and other social services.

4.6 The Process of Analysis: The Identification of Religious Outlook and Practices

In attempting to explain if, and how, religious outlook and practices were sustained and transmitted across generations, I analyzed the data - both from interviews and from questionnaires - according to the Bourdieusian theoretical concepts of habitus, doxa, field, and capital. Bourdieu's work thus provided the theoretical underpinnings for my attempts to process the data. From the interviews I identified some major themes relevant to the overall analysis of this study. I then used some of these, along with the quantitative data collected through the questionnaires to elaborate on the findings of the interviews with the second generation in particular.

My work on this study has relied, throughout the conduct of the research, as I've said, on two central terms, through which I have tried to understand the differences between the first and the second generational groups: "Religious outlook" and "religious practices". This distinction is an attempt to juxtapose the world of values - the world of a person's beliefs and opinions - against the world of practice.

Judaism emphasizes deeds. Traditionally, as Lau (1978) describes it, there have been, at the center of the Jewish religion, 613 commandments, as divided into 248 "positive commandments" of obligation and 365 "negative commandments" of abstention. These commandments encompass, in principle, a Jew's entire day. He or she is required to do various things from the moment of opening one's eyes in the morning until closing them at night. Although Jewish sages, throughout the generations, have been divided upon whether the commandments require devout intention, or if the mere action, by itself, even without intention, fulfils a person's obligation as a Jew (as described in Leibowitz, 1975, pp. 13-36), Avineri (1994) describes commandments as remaining an important factor in Jewish life in pre-modern times. Still, within the current study, the term "religious practice" is not limited merely to the fulfilment of the commandments, but spreads a somewhat wider net. I have included within it such actions that participants have engaged in in the name of being Jewish, even if such actions were not included, necessarily, as one of the commandments of Judaism in its traditional interpretation. The term "religious outlook", in contrast, has been defined in this study almost by a process of elimination, in that what was tied by participants to Judaism but not to the fulfillment of commandments, has been entered, in what I appreciate is an imperfect categorization, under the rubric of "religious outlook", which generally comprises the system of beliefs and values stemming from the tradition and principles of the Jewish religion.

In retrospect, I have found that this division into outlook and practice, in the religious-Jewish context, is not without problems, in part because the two forms of religiosity are often inter-connected. Aliyah to Israel, for example, is both a religious commandment and a question of outlook (Zionism). I have therefore made distinctions between the two, during the conduct of the analysis, according to my subjective impression about the dominant aspect within them. If their central characteristics seemed to tend to outlook rather than to practice, such was my categorization of them. I recognize that, in some cases, my ultimate decision could be debatable.

The processing of the considerable amount of material I had gathered in interviews, and the effort to code it into central themes, was an arduous and complicated experience. This process was more complicated in the question of religious outlook than in that of religious practices, as the former's parameters were exceptionally wide and intangible. I had the transcribed interviews to work with, in what amounted to many hundreds of printed pages. Each transcript reflected the conversation conducted with an interviewee, with all the various subjects involved in it. I debated with myself extensively about the suitable ways of processing such a very large amount of material, and of locating meaningful interfaces between the different interviews. Ultimately, I decided to cut each interview according to the subjects raised within it. By this I mean literally cutting - not the use of the word processor, but the use of scissors on the printed pages. After making sure that each paragraph in the interview was attributed to the correct interviewee (by writing the interviewee's name in the margin of each paragraph), I cut each interview into several dozen pieces. Gradually I managed to create order. I read the interviews again and again, in various combinations and orders, and things began taking form. Some subjects would come up only randomly or superficially (e.g., interactions with spouses about religious differences), while others would recur among several interviewees (e.g., continuous internal debates about the appropriate way to observe the Sabbath). I noted that some subjects obviously preoccupied interviewees, like the congregations that they had founded, while others were such that interviewees were reticent, and I had to press them somewhat in order to get a response, such as their disappointment that their children did not follow in their footsteps, especially among the first generation.

The first stage in sorting the data into outlook and practice led to a second, more rigorous one of merging similar categories or themes - concentrating together themes that belonged to the same thematic or associative field and appeared in a predominant way. This was followed by a third stage of refining and finalizing the categorization. In the context of religious outlook, at this 3rd stage there emerged quite clearly four characteristic themes upon which it was possible to base a serious discussion. These were:.

1. Zionist commitment (For the mentions of words like "aliyah", "Israel", "sovereignty").
2. Jewish education ("Education", "tradition", "learning").

3. Communal life (“community”, “congregation”, “minyan”).
4. Values and beliefs (“God”, “prayer”, “mitzvot”).

The data from the broad thematic areas identified at stage three were eventually accompanied by the relevant quantitative data drawn from the questionnaire.

4.7 Ethics

This study was classified as a low-risk research project. It did not involve participants who were particularly vulnerable, or people that were either unable to give informed consent or placed in a dependent position (i.e., people under 18, or alternatively socially excluded individuals or groups) (Brooks, Te Riele and Maguire, 2014, pp. 163-6). Participants were not made to take part in the study without their consent or knowledge at the time (as in covert observation of people in non-public places), and no deception of any sort was used. All the data gathered in this study was anonymized, and will remain strictly confidential. Every effort has been made to prevent information being linked back to a participating individual. In both cases of related interviewees, each knew about the interview of the other, such that they were made aware of a certain risk to their anonymity, but still chose to be interviewed.

The study was not expected to induce psychological stress or anxiety, produce humiliation or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks faced in the everyday lives of the participants. It did sometimes happen in the interview that, when the conversation concerned a question of faith or of a sense of unmediated contact with God, as in prayer, the interview became more intimate, and sometimes also more sensitive or emotional. I tried in such cases to let silence play a role in the interview, refraining from rushing the interviewee, or pressing him or her to formulate their responses more precisely. I hoped thereby to give the interviewee the freedom to fill up the silence in their own rhythm and style, so as to diminish the sense of pressure, allowing as free a form of self-expression as possible. One example, which will feature in the data-analysis chapters, was of a woman crying in recounting her connection with God, and my attempts there to embrace the moment – not to press her, but to reflect the reaction, the embarrassment and her sense of her relation to god in the most straightforward and fullest way I could.

The study in general did not involve working with any substances and/or equipment which may be considered hazardous, and no financial inducements were offered to the participants. When a meeting took place in a coffee place, I would offer to pay for the coffee, but I do not believe this should reasonably be considered a problem in this context.

As required by the University of Sussex regulations, I submitted the Application Form For Projects for the required ethical review. Subsequently, I was notified that the project had been given ethical approval by the Social Sciences Cluster-based Research Ethics Committee (C-REC) (See Appendix D for this certificate). Since approving the study, the university has adopted a more rigorous process of ethical approval, requiring signed consent by the interviewees and the provision to them of an information sheet I did not take these particular measures, which, as I have said, were not required at the time, but I took care to explain verbally the purposes of the research, and my commitment to anonymity, ensuring that interviewees were aware of what they were involving themselves in. Interviewees were not given an opportunity to review and comment on the transcripts, as the nature of the conversations involved did not seem to necessitate this.

This study is also meant to have real-life consequences, in that the policy subsequently adopted by the Masorti movement's leadership will take into consideration the study's insights, in seeking to engage the "second generation" of Masorti practitioners in more active communal life, in the context of religious practice and congregational activities. Moreover, because the Masorti movement in Israel represents a denomination that is not officially recognized, but rather one that challenges the existing paradigms in the religious field in Israel, the very potential of the study to assist the Jewish Masorti community in Israel in consolidating its status as a legitimate denomination in the country, may contribute to rendering the Israeli society more pluralistic and democratic, at least insofar as religion is concerned.

I have aspired, in the conduct of this research, to meet Guba and Lincoln's (1994, p. 114) criteria of authenticity, especially their subcategories of "catalytic authenticity", of stimulating social action, and "tactical authenticity", of empowering action, thus hoping to effect real-life improvements for the research participants' religious community.

Chapter 5

Data Presentation and Analysis of Religious Outlook

This chapter attempts an integration and analysis of the extensive data collected during this study regarding the religious outlook of the research group of both generations. This is pursued through a subdivision of the religious outlook data into four central themes, which locate the first and the second generation groups' religious outlook within their separate contexts:

- 1) **Zionism:** Zionist commitment emerged clearly and routinely in all interviews with the first-generation group as an important feature. This theme opens the chapter not only because it came up so frequently in interviews with the first-generation group, but also due to its being, in fact, the religious commandment setting into motion the entire process – the arrival of Masorti Jews from North America in a new religious field in the State of Israel.
- 2) **Jewish education:** The question of Jewish education was of great concern both for interviewees of the first generation and for those of the second generation. The question of intergenerational Jewish continuity – i.e., the capacity and necessity of providing educational Jewish experiences – repeatedly arose, both when first-generation interviewees described their parents' homes and the home where they raised their children, and in second-generation interviewees' discussions of the question of religious-Jewish education of their own children and of that experienced by themselves as children.
- 3) **Community:** In the context of community, the religious-Jewish congregation had been an important source of Jewish identity in the religious field first-generation interviewees had come from, as saliently emerging in the different interviews. For the second-generation group, the Jewish community took on a somewhat different expression, but remained very central to their discourse.
- 4) **Belief and values:** Finally, one aspect that unified the various interviews, with both generations, was the effort by interviewees to characterize their religious outlook in an analytical manner, in confronting it with the private world of belief which had formulated for him or herself.

These form the central themes for this chapter. Upon setting out, at the beginning of this study, I had not yet known that these would be the topics around which references to religious outlook would center., and even while conducting the interviews themselves, I did not always notice the extent to which some of these themes repeated themselves. This discovery emerged only at the data analysis stage, taking the forms I will describe here.

5.1 Zionist Commitment

According to Shapira (2007), residence in the Land of Israel has been of traditional religious significance in Judaism, with the idea of Israel's centrality to ethno-religious identity interwoven throughout Jewish history. Shapira highlights how, over the past 150 years, Jews have been living in Israel under the auspices of the Zionist movement. This movement, originating in late 19th century Eastern and Central Europe, argued an historical attachment of the Jewish people to the region then known as Palestine. The movement took on political, activist features under the leadership of Austrian journalist Theodor Herzl, following eruptions of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe in the late 1800s. This movement was not limited to those who lived in Israel, but affected Jews all around the world. Avineri (1980) describes the process whereby many Jews became Zionists, and how, while most would not ultimately make aliyah to Israel, still the Zionist idea exerted a potent influence in many Jewish homes. This may be understood as a manifestation of the embodied cultural capital that Bourdieu discusses - capital whereby "external wealth converted into an integral part of the person" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 18).

5.1.1 First generation: Zionism as cultural capital

Interviews with first-generation participants indicated that most had been raised in homes with distinctly Zionist orientations. Israel was therefore a familiar subject, generally as a place that they were taught to admire and to love. The Zionist education they had received exposed them to the possibility of one day making aliyah, which, as Avineri (1980) highlights, has often been seen as the ultimate fulfilment and application of Zionism.

We may understand this idea of aliyah as, in Bourdieu's terms, embodied cultural capital. It represented the culmination of cultural and religious ideas parents had transmitted to their children. Moshe (of the first generation, like all participants mentioned in the present section), for instance, described how "both my parents had been involved in the Zionist movement, and even dreamt that one day they would make aliyah." Yaakov and Ron reinforced this suggestion of the parental home as a source of influence:

My father was the founder of the 'General Zionists'⁹ in New Jersey, and my mother was the founder of Hadassah Women in town. . . . Everywhere we went we were hailed as Zionists (Yaakov, 1st gen).

I grew up in a Zionist youth movement. I came to Israel for the first time at age 16 and immediately felt connected. My parents were not surprised when I came home and announced that one day I will make aliyah. On the contrary, although they may have had mixed feelings, they were very excited and supportive of me (Ron, 1st gen).

Betty's home was different. She described having grown up in a less observant home. Though her parents belonged to the Masorti synagogue, they attended it only once a year, on Yom Kippur. In her case, it was her spouse who had initiated their move to Israel:

Israel didn't mean a thing to my parents. My grandfather insisted that I learn Yiddish, so up to the age of 11, I went to the 'Bund' School where they taught half in Yiddish and half in English. Had I not met my husband, I never would have come to Israel. Over time, I became as enthusiastic about living in Israel as my husband and his other Zionist friends were (Betty, 1st gen).

Her example demonstrates the possibility for cultural capital to be transmitted not only through parents but also through such influential figures in life as spouses.

You couldn't have a more Zionist home than the one I grew up in. Everything was Israel Israel Israel. The books, the music - even family games. It was crazy. Almost a religion in itself! (Gershon, 1st gen).

The first generation's cultural capital had provided many of its members, as emerging from the interviews, with respectability in the congregations of their countries of origin, along with a feeling of security within their social networks. They were provided, if we

⁹ A liberal-right wing Zionist party that was active within the Zionist movement from the 1930s to the 1960s.

recall Bourdieu's formulation, with cultural capital: "a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 20). This capital, which included Jewish literacy, an acknowledged communal status, and a gender-equal approach to Judaism, would not, however, attain a value in Israel comparable to that it had been accorded in the country of origin, as we will see. Something would appear to have changed in the value of this capital, in the dynamic of assimilation and integration in a new country, as will be discussed in the following sections.

5.1.2 Second generation: Cultural capital; "It's just there"

For the second generation, Zionism, as an expression of cultural capital, was not as straightforwardly tied to religion. For instance, when asked if her parents' generation had "succeeded" with them," in a deliberately open-ended question, Sarit and Leah (second generation) answered:

I am a graduate of all of the Masorti movement's institutions - TALI, NOAM, *gar'in*¹⁰. Am I a success story? I don't know. Perhaps I am, because they have instilled in me things that make a person better. They instilled values of equality, of openness, of Jewish knowledge. In that respect, yes, they have succeeded (Sarit, 2nd gen).

My parents didn't have to educate me to be Zionist. I don't even remember that the word was ever mentioned. It was like breathing. They talked about Zionism when they lived in America. Here we just lived it, I guess. You didn't have to speak about it (Leah, 2nd gen).

Apart from Leah, none of the second-generation participants explicitly mentioned Zionism in this context. I understood this as suggesting that it was not seen by them as a criterion of Masorti success in Israel. A similar tendency emerged among other second-generation participants. When called upon in interviews, directly and indirectly, to speak about religious outlook, they never once uttered the word "Zionism".

¹⁰ Literally "core", a unified group enlisting and working together in the obligatory military service. TALI and NOAM are acronyms representing a Masorti school system and youth movement respectively. They will be further characterized later on in this work.

One potentially telling point of view was expressed by two of the participants regarding the correlation between Jewishness and Zionism. Although I had not questioned them about Zionism specifically, their answers may shed some light on their views on this subject. Sarit claimed it was an overarching theme in her life, which did not have to be mentioned explicitly:

I have no need to feel Jewish, because it's just there. It's terribly strong in me. I live it. I live in Israel, the Jewish State; my parents made aliyah. Everything around is Jewish. When I moved, I had a mezuzah; if there hadn't been one, I would have put one in. But there were apartments where I didn't. I have no doubt that I am Jewish, even if I am totally hiloni (Sarit, 2nd gen).

For Ran it was comparatively later in life that he came to the realization that he had been living in an environment so Zionist that it was almost taken as a given:

When I finished my mandatory army service, I went looking for work to finance my pre-studies trip abroad, like many Israelis do. I realized that I wanted to work with groups of youths visiting Israel for the first time. It was my way of introducing them to a country that was very special to me, thanks to my parents. I was surprised how comfortable I felt with them during Shabbat services. It had been years since I participated in a full Shabbat service. I realized then that I really was a Zionist (Ran, 2nd gen).

For Sarit and Ran, Zionism was part of the cultural capital they had received from their parents. Erez (second generation), for his part, emphasized the distinction between outlook and practice. He did not appear to feel the need to be specific about his outlook, in the conviction that its reality, in terms of Zionist commitment, was always, as it were, just there:

I am always a Jew, every day, all day, and it has always been like that, regardless of my lifestyle. When I am outside of Israel, even today, I look for a Jewish congregation. It doesn't matter if I am in New Delhi or Bangkok. My parents were like that, too. . . . In some ways I feel that it defines me, defines who am I as a human being, not only as a Jew. This is something I have inherited from my parents. They believed that being Jewish was to make sure you connected to other Jews. I adopted it. I like it (Erez, 2nd gen).

For Erez, therefore, Zionism provided one of the elements of his cultural capital.

Taken together, Erez's, Sarit's and Ran's comments all suggest that the fact of living in the State of Israel, constantly surrounded by objects expressive of Jewishness, was a significant anchor of their experience of it - that is, an anchor of cultural capital. Although the term Zionism was not itself directly invoked, their comments did relate to some of the tenets of Zionist ideology, as described in Avineri (1980) - particularly as

regards their feelings and outlook as Jews. Sarit thus spoke of concrete actions, behaviors, and feelings, while Erez and Ran pointed to the exterior trappings, such as the existence of Jewish prayer, in orienting their conduct abroad and in Israel as Jews. This is significant in light of the reportedly contrasting attitude of their parents - who had been born abroad and made aliyah to Israel - towards religious outlook and practice as existentially crucial to Jewishness. Sarit's statement about regarding herself as always being Jewish despite considering herself *hiloni* implies a conception that having been born Jewish remains part of one and defines one, even with changes in belief.

For first first-generation participants, in contrast, the word Zionism was frequently mentioned in answer to questions about religious outlook. Yakov (first generation), for example, who said "I have been here for a few decades and still get excited by seeing a newspaper in Hebrew; it's part of my Zionism, I guess;" or Betty (first generation), who laughingly stated "I still get emotional every time I go to Jerusalem, the capital of Zionism." In the second generation, implicit Zionism at least could still be noted in comments such as Dikla's (second generation), who referred to her *tallit* (prayer shawl, often made of blue and white fabric, the same as the Israeli flag) as "my personal Israeli flag."

In conclusion, Zionism played a central motivational and formative role in first-generation participants' religious outlook and behavior. It was manifested in the first place in their aliyah, and, for some, this continued to play a role in maintaining religious feeling even after immigration, while for others it did not. Second-generation participants, in contrast, as born Israelis, lived out Zionism without defining it as such - or, apparently, needing to.

The dynamic behind these different tendencies in approach to Zionism might be illuminated by a conceptualization of Zionist ideology as cultural capital. Bourdieu notes (1986, pp. 17-8) that, when transmission of cultural capital occurs through legacy, it often requires deliberate and costly investment. First-generation interviewees had expended a great deal of effort attaining this capital, to the point of making aliyah. In contrast, the second generation had perhaps not needed to invest so much effort, as their surroundings were already infused with Zionism. A Bourdieusian analysis would thus help account for the fact that this group's Zionism remained unspoken, despite and because of its considerable presence and importance in their lives, which meant their own investment of effort was not as required.

This inference is of course based on the fact that, despite the absence of Zionism in their descriptions, a powerful impression remained of it continuing to play a very significant role for them. This inference, while not based on the text of the interviews as such, is borne out by their context. It was felt in the atmosphere of conversations. The fact that the word “aliyah” was usually accompanied by a smile, by a seeming sense of satisfaction with having fulfilled, in their lives, the most typical practical manifestation of Zionism. It was reinforced, too, by decorative elements in the interviews’ environments - thus, there was a small golden sculpture of Theodor Herzl on the bookshelf in Gershon’s room, and an old photograph from the construction of a kibbutz in Betty’s living room.

5.2 Jewish Education

Alexander (1992) highlights how traditionally important to religious-Jewish education instruction in Jewish life, practice and thought has been. The bar mitzvah of boys at 13 and bat mitzvah for 12-year-old girls are not only rites of passage from childhood to adulthood, but also junctures at which young people begin to become religiously literate. This appears to have remained the case for participants of both generations, in that education - in the childhood home, in informal settings, and in formal schools - has been central in molding their religious outlook.

5.2.1 Formal and informal education

This section describes the religious outlook of each generational group as influenced by the Jewish education they had received - in both formal settings (school and synagogue-based supplementary school) and informal (youth movement, summer camp).

First-generation participants had developed their religious outlook through participating in any one of the several frameworks outlined above and available to them during their formative years. Coming from this background, some participants mentioned the prospect of Jewish education in a Jewish society as having been one of their central motivations in moving to Israel. However, many then discovered that the available formal and informal educational systems did not fulfill their desires as regarded their children's education. Adam and Yitzhak, for example, had this to say:

My children's Jewish education and identity was very important to us. After all, this was what had brought us to Israel - the Jewish education that I received at home. Having grown up abroad, I expected it would be easy in Israel. Oh, how wrong I was. Not only did the curriculum lack Jewish content in the way I was used to, none of the efforts we made in order to change it, to influence the principal, got anywhere. It was very frustrating and frankly, disappointing. Was this the Zionist dream? (Adam, 1st gen).

The first elementary school my kids went to was a disaster. They didn't even have a *siddur* [see Glossary] in the classroom and lessons about Jewish religion were basically non-existent. Aside from the Hebrew, it felt like we were sending our kids to a public school in America. In the beginning, my wife and I were shocked (Yitzhak, 1st gen).

From the second generation group's interviews, it was clear that they understood how their parents' efforts to create frameworks for Jewish education for them had been deliberate, and reflective of their parents' religious outlook. Leah expressed this plainly:

Both of my parents had spent hours as volunteers building our synagogue and the local TALI school. We could not mistake their commitment, nor did we challenge it. Sometimes they had two or even three meetings in one evening. Our living room was like a coffee house, always ready to serve coffee and cake. As a child I assumed that this was typical in Israel. Only later, when I started my university studies, did I realize the price my parents had paid in fighting for their values (Leah, 2nd gen).

Erez was likewise appreciative of the intense efforts of his parents to create a meaningful Jewish environment, though in his case there was a different emphasis:

NOAM, out of all my Jewish experiences, was the most significant for shaping my Jewish outlook and my understanding of Jewish culture. I know that I owe it to my parents, even though I resisted going there at the beginning. . . . They understood that if they only took me to the synagogue, my connection to Judaism could be weak. NOAM was fun, was with other kids my age, and I am so happy that they made me go there. It is not that I hated the synagogue - on the contrary, I quite enjoyed it as a child, but it was nothing compared to the Jewish experience at NOAM (Erez, 2nd gen).

When second-generation participants were asked, 'What did you take from NOAM?', three features were generally emphasized: Jewish literacy, democratic values, and activism. Of particular interest is the attention given to the Jewish literacy acquired in NOAM:

We were given the basis: *Gemara* and *Mishnah* [see Glossary for both terms]. I felt comfortable entering any synagogue and opening a prayer book. It is not alien to me. I can choose. . . . And if I am in a place where there is no equality between the sexes, it enrages me, and that is from there, from NOAM . . . in a way, it is

kind of interesting that although egalitarianism is not an essential part of Judaism, for me, because of NOAM, it is. I am proud of that (Sarit, 2nd gen).

Bourdieu's definition of field is pertinent to an understanding of the encounter of the first-generation participants, as parents, with the Israeli educational system. The notion of field, as discussed in Chapter 3, implies that all of the people thus circumscribed share several basic interests which are essential for the survival of the field, with each field tending to present a supreme value that serves to determine the hierarchy within it. When the first-generation immigrants had first arrived in Israel, they encountered an educational field featuring two tracks of formal, public education: hiloni and religious (i.e., exclusively Orthodox-religious). Choosing a track was a difficult decision. Many understood that they would pay a price with either choice, as neither would provide their children the desired Masorti-oriented Jewish education. Such were the rules of the field. Neither of the options provided truly meshed with the first generation's religious outlook. The dichotomy in the educational field would not allow them their own space; the hierarchy and doxa of the educational field would render their cultural capital of inferior quality in either track.

5.2.2 The home sphere

The childhood homes of the participants of both generations had, as they described it, exercised considerable influence on their eventual religious outlook. The avenues for children's education at home were many - formal instruction, modeling behaviors, discussion of ideas. This variety of modes was common to the descriptions of participants of both generations, as Moshe from the first generation and Daniela from the second testify:

We were a very talkative family. Always discussing, arguing - often about our experiences in Israel but not only. We cared a lot about politics; we argued about God; we always discussed the disturbing conflict between state and religion in Israel. . . . Well, this is not so surprising. It was a permanent topic in many of our friends' homes, as well, as people who had made aliyah from similar backgrounds. Understand, we came to Israel because we were Jews, because we felt pride in our Judaism, but in Israel, due to the Orthodox monopoly, we were treated as if we were not so Jewish, or were only partly Jewish. So, as you can imagine, the unholy relationship between religion and state in Israel was discussed and discussed, but it did not make us less proud in our Jewish identity (Moshe, 1st gen).

I didn't realize until I had left home how much my parents and family had influenced my Jewish pride. Even though I do not observe Shabbat, my belief is solid. . . . My parents didn't have to say anything. It was in the way they behaved. The way they looked forward to Shabbat, and way they created in us the same sense of longing when Shabbat ended. It was even in the way my mother used to light candles before Shabbat. The light in her eyes. It is not that they kept each and every aspect of Shabbat, but they were still able to convey a message that for Jews it was the best day of the week (Daniela, 2nd gen).

For Bourdieu (2004), individuals acquire cultural capital by virtue of the cooperation and flow of information among members of social networks such as families and communities. Dumais specifies that,

In many cases . . . it is the parents who hold the key to children's cultural participation by paying for lessons; providing transportation to and from classes; or, as Bourdieu (1984) argued, by demonstrating an interest in culture to the children at home (Dumais, 2002, p. 53).

Most first-generation participants described having come from middle to high socioeconomic backgrounds, and having been educated in Jewish institutions (Jewish private school; summer camp) and/or hiloni educational environments (public schools in good neighborhoods) which were rich in educational content. According to Sarna (2004), the parents of most of this first generation of new immigrants to Israel, as a whole, had known the value of giving their children a robust Jewish and general education, and were committed to doing so.

Some of those who had started a family before aliyah fashioned their family lives in Israel - i.e., the second generation's childhoods - in ways that were similar to those in which they had been raised in their countries of origin:

We had arrived in Israel with two young children. It seemed natural for us to create our new home along the same lines as those of our lives as Masorti Jews in America. Simply put, it was a Jewish home - with Jewish books on the bookshelves, a *menorah* [see Glossary] decorating the coffee table, and lively discussions on the weekly Torah reading around the Shabbat table. . . . I used to have a little game with my children every Friday. It would take place on our way to *Kabbalat Shabbat* in the synagogue. I would ask them 'what is the *weekly portion* [see Glossary] that will be read tomorrow?' The first one to answer got some kind of a prize. It was not a huge challenge, just a symbolic effort, but they would be waiting for this question. They knew that I was going to ask them, and each one of them wanted to be first (Yonatan, 1st gen).

This tendency to try and reproduce the religious environment they had known in North America, also characterized those first-generation participants who had not arrived with children. Their dream of living a Jewish family life in the Jewish homeland meant, for

them, the starting of a family and basing its life on the Jewish-religious outlook and Jewish life that they knew.

Not content, then, to depend purely on the formal education their children received, which they found to sometimes be lacking as far as Jewish religious experience was concerned, first-generation participants spoke of making sure to expose their children to Jewish culture and values at home. In the homes of their own childhood, going to the synagogue on Friday night and on the Shabbat had been a standard practice: "There was no question, my father always insisted - Shabbat without going to synagogue and being part of a congregation was not a Shabbat" (Yitzhak, 1st gen). For their children, however, especially those among them who had been sent to hiloni schools (before the TALI education network had been established), and sometimes even when they did attend TALI schools, synagogue attendance became neither taken for granted nor natural. The parents would invest considerable effort in attempting to make the Jewish experience into something inviting and empowering, especially before bar/bat mitzvah age, but also long beforehand and afterwards. First-generation parents Moshe and Betty described it thus:

We understood that our kids would probably be different from us in their Jewish beliefs, but it was essential for me that they felt part of the Jewish people; comfortable with Jewish culture. I deliberately initiated conversation on Jewish subjects, especially on Shabbat, and we celebrated all the Jewish holidays and kept their customs. . . . I was OK with the fact that they would, most likely, not live a halachic life. Our Jewish life, too, was different from that of our parents', yet we conveyed, or at least I hope we did, a very straightforward message - you need to act like a Jew, and this means to pay respect to your religion and to your heritage. Tradition meant a lot to and me and to my wife. Our children? They knew it! (Moshe, 1st gen).

Every vacation we took them on trips to historical or archaeological sites throughout Israel, often with the bible in our hands. It was important to us that they understood the religious connection between themselves and our ancestors. . . . They did not always like it. I remember that once they even "rebelled" [making quotation marks with her fingers]. 'Enough already with the bible!' they said, when they saw me looking for the book before leaving the car. 'Let's just talk. Or sing.' Well, they knew that I liked singing, especially in Hebrew, so they tried to bribe me (Betty, 1st gen).

The second generation, both those who were already parents and those who were not, similarly spoke of the importance of exposing their own children to many of the same religious values and practices that they had been exposed to as children.

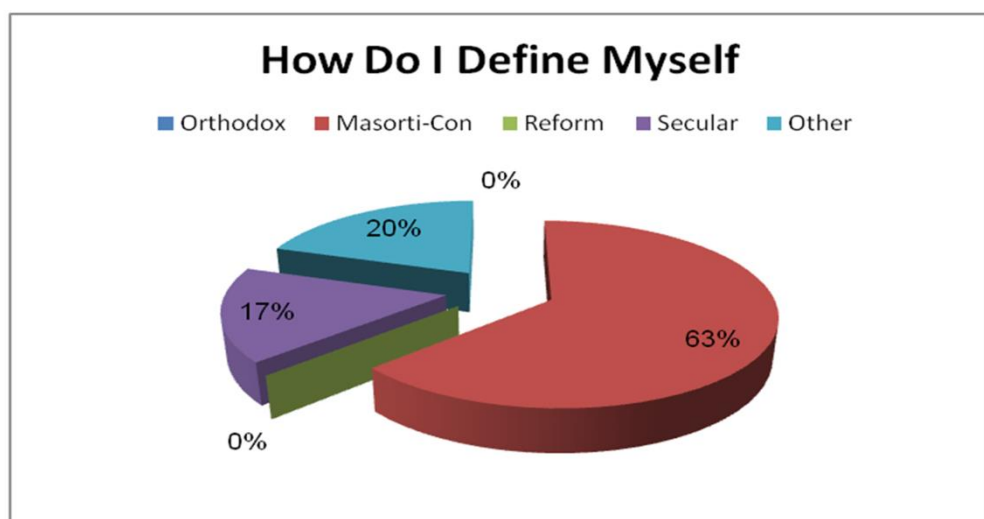
I'm not sure how to do it yet, but I would want my children to have the same connection to our Jewish religion and culture that I have due to my parents' obsession. Will they end up defining themselves as Masorti? I'm not sure. . . . Would I want them to define themselves this way? I think so. But even if they will, I do not think that they will belong to a Masorti synagogue. I do not [belong to one], although I feel very much connected. But let them have this dilemma themselves. We still have some years to go until they have to decide (Dikla, 2nd gen).

The childhood memories of second-generation participants regarding the homes their parents had established in Israel show a fairly broad range of religious values. Despite this, reports by some second-generation participants describe in poignant terms the ways in which they would not ultimately come to assume the religious outlook of their parents.

I guess you could say that I eventually realized that what was right for my parents was not right for me. I'm not a Masorti Jew today, yet I'm thankful for the Jewish home they gave me. It's an asset for life. . . . But frankly, I do not know if it is possible. How will I be able to give my children the same knowledge and values? Will I be able to teach them what Shabbat looks like if I do not keep Shabbat? I am thinking about it and it feels sad. Next time I see my parents I will hug them. They gave me a gift. I must find a way not only not to lose it, but also to give it [to my own children] when the time comes. I need to think about it (Tal, 2nd gen).

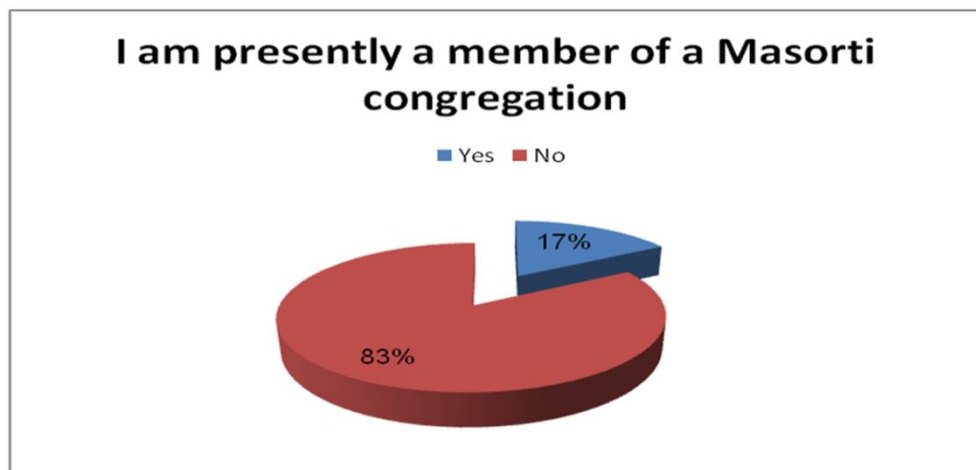
One of the significant findings of the questionnaire's data, in terms of Jewish outlook, was that a majority (63%) of the second-generation sample group still defined themselves as Masorti, as shown in the graph below:

Graph 1



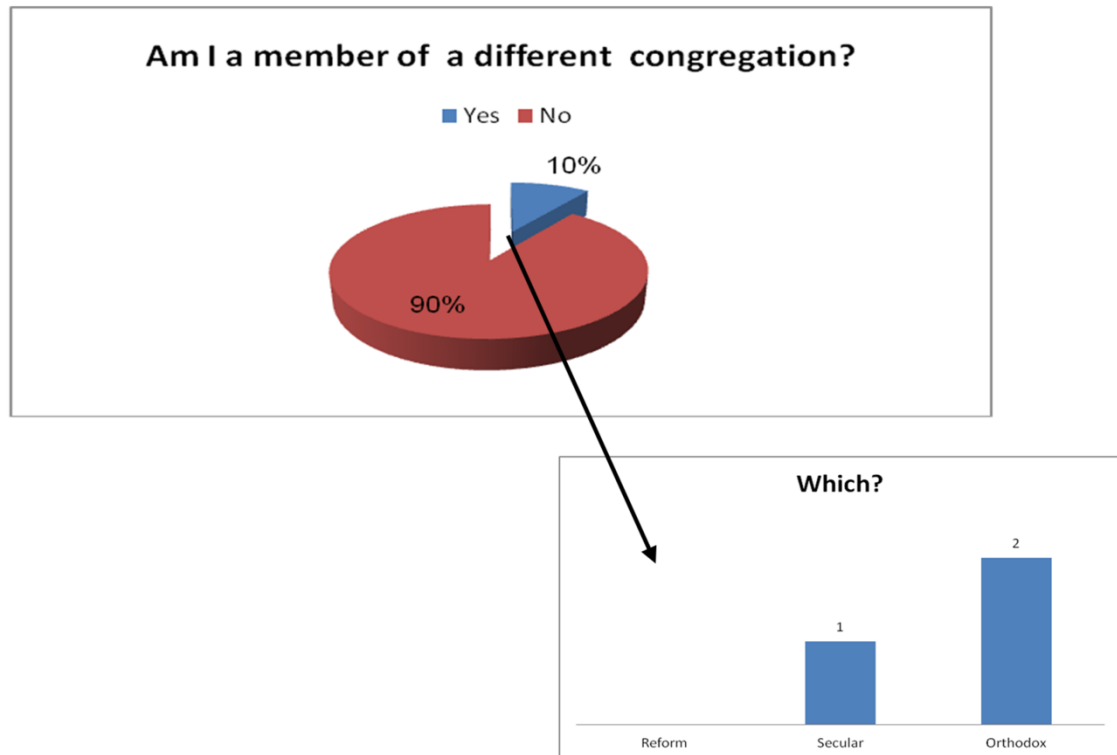
This would appear to suggest that, for both generations, the childhood home had ultimately served as a powerful source of cultural capital, manifested in this case as religious outlook. The home sphere had been a setting within which parents made an effort to transmit religious outlook. Evidently, the efforts of the parents had borne fruit, with such a high percentage of their children identifying as Masorti. Yet this self-definition did not generally lead them to become members of a Masorti or other congregation, as Graphs 2 and 3 indicate: An overwhelming majority (83%) of second-generation questionnaire respondents were not members of any congregation:

Graph 2



This finding – an apparent incongruence between self-definition and practical reality, in terms of Masorti belonging - was in fact found to be compatible with the qualitative findings of the study, as will be shown. On the other hand twenty-seven questionnaire participants (90%) also indicated that they were also not members of a non-Masorti congregation.

Graph 3



Thus, only ten percent of the respondents said that they were members in a different denomination's congregation. As can be seen, these three respondents chose to be members of Orthodox and hiloni Jewish congregations, with no respondent having chosen to be a member of a Reform Jewish congregation. The fact that the bulk of second-generation questionnaire respondents had not joined a Masorti or any other congregation, despite defining themselves as Masorti, strongly suggests that congregational membership was not essential to their religious outlook. This stands in stark contrast, as previously discussed, to the situation of their parents' generation.

5.3 Community

5.3.1 First-generation congregations: Regaining capital

Bourdieu (1986) considers community an important factor in the cohesiveness of a group and in the power held by the individuals within it. The production and reproduction of networks are what generate collective resources and social capital.

Both generation groups did, in fact, express their need for community, and described having worked to attain it, but in disparate ways. First-generation participants had

generally grown up going to Masorti synagogues, and irrespective of their degree of involvement therein, tended to see them as the locus of their Jewish communality. Many also related the sense of community afforded to them by participation in Jewish youth movements and summer camps. Their decisions to establish congregation-communities in Israel may thus be understood as carryovers of the social capital that they had acquired as children. As immigrants, however, they developed a new set of social needs beyond their religious-Jewish ones, and their new congregations were thus to take on a range of new social roles. Devorah's (first generation) statements may be seen as representative of this tendency: "I think that my motivation for joining a synagogue was religious to begin with, but with time, it became much more social. . . . an important part of our life."

Having grown accustomed to active participation in synagogue communities, many first-generation participants had turned for this to local Israeli Orthodox synagogues. The result would be a disappointing experience of alienation, as vividly related in the interviews. In Bourdieusian terms, this experience may be understood as involving their cultural capital not being appreciated, with the *doxa* too different to allow it. Adam (first generation), for instance, said, "We didn't feel accepted because we were not Orthodox," and "in the Jewish sense, we were quite lost." Betty (first generation), similarly, said: "I didn't feel at ease. Because of the *mechitza* [see Glossary] dividing men and women. I felt that I didn't belong."

These statements, with their frustration, may best be understood in the context of the motivation that had brought these people to Israel in the first place, as conceptualized in Bourdieusian terminology. They had voluntarily made a major change in their lives because of Zionism - a central element in their religious outlook. The homes and communities that they had left had featured *doxa* that reflected their own values. Now, in Israel, to which they had come for religious and cultural reasons, there was felt to be a lack of receptiveness to their own orientation to Jewish experience, expression and outlook. For their accumulated social capital to still be of value, they would have to take initiative - to establish communities suitable to their outlook.

The religious status of women in the Masorti world, for example, was an essential element of cultural capital, which participants of the first generation, men and women alike, had fought to maintain in their new lives in Israel: "To pray behind a *mechitza*? What am I, a second-class Jew? No way!" (Devorah, 1st gen). In a certain sense, their

struggle for egalitarianism in Judaism was part of a broader worldview experienced as liberal and progressive. The Jewish education of the first generation had instilled in them the conviction that Judaism was not in conflict with modernity and progress. As Ron, a rabbi and educator, put it:

The major contribution of Masorti Judaism to the Jewish people, in my eyes, is its integration of modernity with Jewish tradition. As I learned in rabbinic school and as I taught my pupils - Judaism is flexible and open to change from one generation to the next, while taking care not to violate fundamental principles . . . as a matter of fact, this is what has kept us unified as a people. The ability of our sages to interpret and re-interpret the bible again and again. Otherwise, our religion would have been frozen, and no one can live in a deep freeze. Not individuals and not nations (Ron, 1st gen).

However, the character of Orthodox synagogues and congregations in Israel was different from what first-generation participants had known in the Masorti synagogues of their countries of origin. In the Israeli synagogues, they felt, nearly no emphasis was placed on community. Individuals seemed to go to Orthodox synagogues to pray, simply because Jews who followed halacha ought to pray three times a day, in a minyan (see Glossary) of ten men. The synagogue often seemed like a conveyor belt - a kind of factory for minyans that would begin one after the other at fixed times. This reality was in conflict with the approach of Masorti Jews to their synagogues as described by Bekerman (1997), whereby the congregation tried - albeit not always successfully - to offer a religious-spiritual experience.

In the spirit of regaining the cultural capital they had possessed as Masorti Jews in North America, and which was now lost in their new capacity as immigrants, many groups of first-generation participants went on to establish new Masorti synagogues in Israel. This was also useful in terms of social capital. In both the United States and Canada, the first generation's countries of origin, Jewish communities had understood and accepted that they would not receive governmental help in meeting their religious needs. In order to provide the services that would keep their communities vibrant and responsive to their members, these Jews had learned to organize themselves, to formulate a shared vision, to define an accepted social system, and to raise funds (Sarna, 2004). In effect, what the first-generation participants of this study had done was to set up a framework where this social capital would maintain its value. They would have experienced, throughout their childhoods, the advantages provided by what is conceptualized here as social capital, as had been provided by a community to its active

members back in the United States. Thus, in the aftermath of their immigration, there must have been a powerful sense of dispossession of both cultural and social capital:

I remember how my parents got involved in creating children's prayers and family activities in their synagogues in America in order to enhance the sense of community. As a child I enjoyed watching them fighting and laughing in the living room while drinking coffee and eating cake. . . . Back then I actually thought that this was what adults did in their afternoons and evenings. Meet and argue. It is funny that, in the end, I, too, became that adult. My wife and I invested endless hours - endless - as volunteers, of course, to create a better Jewish educational environment for our children (Yaakov, 1st gen).

The immigration process itself - aliyah - was an ideological and emotional experience in consequence of which many of the immigrants found themselves lacking in important social settings such as community, synagogue, and even the extended family. The field being different, their social capital would naturally be devalued. Creating new communities was one of the means by which the new immigrants would have recreated and regained social capital. Moshe and Betty (of the first generation) thus emphasized the substitution of the family by the synagogue community:

As opposed to someone who was born here and who has a large extended family, we had only each other for family. On the holidays, where we ate, where we celebrated . . . it was not just having prayers together, but much more. . . . I really can't imagine how we would have coped with our aliyah, which would be a painful immigration process even if you did take this decision in full consciousness and from ideological motivations, as we did, if we did not have this supporting system that replaced, in many ways, the close relatives that we had left behind (Moshe, 1st gen).

As a new immigrant to Israel, you don't have family. You look for some place to fit in, something to hold on to. The congregation was an important part in our absorption here. People who were born here don't necessarily need that. They have a natural social environment, friends from school. . . . but we were outsiders. We had come without our families, and gradually, we became a family. . . . When I walk into the synagogue today, I feel like I'm entering a warm, comforting bath. That's a strange metaphor. . . . It's a sense of belonging. . . . Only in my childhood did I ever have this feeling before, when we visited our grandparents. A place that loves you and that you love. I am maybe idealizing this. It is a congregational synagogue, after all, so sure - we had some intrigues, too, but the fact that I remember it this way in retrospect still says a lot. Doesn't it? (Betty, 1st gen).

The congregation was likened more than once by first-generation participants to an extended family, in its provision of a social and emotional anchoring far beyond the immediate religious context. A powerful description of the search for "family

connections" was given by Ron (1st gen): "Forget ideology; we came to the synagogue to be with each other!"

It was clear from interviews with first-generation participants that a strong need for community was very widespread. The drive to reinstate their social capital led to the setting up of communities which better suited their needs. Mutual trust and cooperation, as important components of social capital, played key roles in binding the new immigrants into communities and in driving the formation of the Masorti communities in the years following the great wave of immigration. The social network they built between themselves in turn created new and plentiful social capital. The social capital regained by first-generation participants thus reduced the uncertainty inherent in immigration. Betty (1st gen) defined this as providing no less than "a safe haven." In this way, the congregations formed by the new immigrants supplied something far beyond a place wherein to conduct prayers on Shabbat and festivals within the Masorti outlook so comfortable and familiar for them.

The second-generation group presents a more complex picture. For many of these participants there had existed two communities: the synagogue where they had grown up and the NOAM youth movement. They had generally been born into both these social networks, and consequently generally took them for granted. This did not detract from their retrospective appreciation for these frameworks. The way in which some of them continued to describe, after so many years, the congregations in which they had grown up suggests an atmosphere of appreciation for and recognition of their value:

Not having any extended family as a child beyond my parents and sister was not easy. I remember going back to school after Shabbat, hearing my friends' stories about the grandmother or grandfather they had visited, and feeling that it was a pity that I saw my grandparents only once a year, or even once in two years. . . . My parents would always tell me that the congregation was as much for me as it was for them. This was actually true. The grandparents and uncles that I didn't have in Israel were, in a way, replaced by close friends of my parents in the congregation. I guess their children were my cousins (Dalit, 2nd gen).

The childhood experience in a Masorti congregation would have instilled in these children some Masorti values and outlook, though they may not have realized this at the time. As Tal tells,

I loved going with my mother when she was called up on Shabbat to the Torah. It seemed so natural to me, so Jewish. These are my values to this day. It was only when I got to high school that I understood that for some Jews it was unacceptable for women to participate in prayers in this way . . . that was weird. The Judaism

that was so natural to me, so obvious to my friends and family, was delegitimized by so many. I am so happy that I learned about this only at a later stage, and not as a young child. It enabled me to enjoy it with no impediments (Tal, 2nd gen).

It was through NOAM, the youth movement, that many of the second-generation participants had crystallized their Masorti outlook:

NOAM was my community. It is true that I accompanied my parents to the synagogue, which was their own community, and you could say that I grew up in this congregation, but my real community was NOAM. . . . Only there did I feel that I was with a peer group, children that I have a common language with. In some respects, we were quite similar to one another. Our parents were all new immigrants, from more or less the same backgrounds (Erez, 2nd gen).

My Masorti consciousness came from NOAM. It might be because of the name of the movement, being an acronym for "The Masorti movement's youth movement", but I think it was mainly because of its contents, its essence. It was there that I came to understand that I was Masorti. . . . It was the anthem, the songs we sang before and after the meals, the prayers we prayed together. We had lots of pride in our NOAM identity. We were 'NOAMnics', and this was associated with Masorti values in a natural way. I have no doubt in my mind that without NOAM I would not define myself as Masorti (Tal, 2nd gen).

This, then, in effect formed their community. The values they discussed and the principles of Judaism they argued about during their time there reflected the Masorti background from which they had come.

Going to NOAM every week was like being with family. Like brothers and sisters, like cousins. Whenever I think of prayer it is the NOAM songs and choreography that come to mind, not to mention boys and girls together of course! Fun. It was fun. Education that came of fun. I keep smiling when I think of it. Yes, we had some difficult moments . . . sure . . . we were teens after all, with all the tensions and hormones, but I do not recall having had a serious crisis there. In school - yes. In NOAM - no. At least I do not remember one (Dalit, 2nd gen).

Both generation-groups' participants, then, had found ways to meet their religious and social needs. First-generation participants had established or joined existing congregations to regain their cultural capital for the new field, while, for the second generation, NOAM served as the social setting for the development of their Masorti outlook:

NOAM gave me a sense of belonging. I felt secure there, both in terms of my Masorti identity and socially. It was a source of stability, even of pride. It was like we had a language at NOAM, a language that only we could understand and speak. A Masorti-Israeli language that formed an anchor for me When I meet my friends from NOAM today, and we do meet occasionally, at least some of us, we

do not need to say a lot to start laughing. Sometimes it is a single word, or a gesture (Dalit, 2nd gen).

In Bourdieusian terms, each generation-group, in its own way, created networks through which they produced and reproduced social and cultural capital.

5.3.2 New Congregations as resisting doxa

Doxa, as discussed in chapter 3, determines what is forbidden and permitted in society; what is accepted and rejected; what provokes praise and what censure, containing thereby the rules of the field. It regulates behavior and establishes consensus within a defined group of people. Identification of the doxa of a group of people may, therefore, be achieved by consideration of such clear, explicit rules as have been put in writing (in the case of the first generation, an example of this is synagogue by-laws). Perhaps even more so, however, it can be seen in the unspoken rules - conventions which are taken for granted and do not need to be stated outright.

My findings indicate that halachic observance and congregational belonging were the dominant factors in the uncoded doxa of the first-generation group, whereas the doxa of the second generation, while still Masorti, was more liberal than that of the first. For example, Yonatan described his life in this way:

I have always looked at the world through the prism of Judaism; especially Masorti values. This is who I am as a human being Furthermore, I try to live my life - try, not always successfully, yet I try - according to the halacha in its Masorti interpretation. I enjoy it, enjoy following the halacha in the more open way that Masorti Judaism allows. Sometimes I look at my Orthodox friends and feel sorry for them. Masorti Judaism is not afraid of modernity (Yonatan, 1st gen).

From the second generation, there was a striking example of the change in emphasis in Dikla, a lesbian, who, though she understood that not all the members of her congregation would consider her lifestyle religiously appropriate to Judaism, yet felt at peace with it. For her, this did not conflict with her strong connection to Masorti Judaism:

It was clear to me that I would have my wedding at our congregation. Not everyone liked the idea. It was a long process of discussion, but in the end, we found a solution which respected most views. I was happy (Dikla, 2nd gen).

As it happened, while conducting a routine visit to Dikla's community in a professional capacity, I was exposed to an internal discussion by some of the leaders of her

community on this very subject. It was thus that I obtained an interesting picture of this story, through several of its protagonists. As the date approached, Dikla wished to mark the event on a Shabbat in the congregation where she had grown up, as was the practice for congregants' weddings. In Orthodox congregations, such a Shabbat (for heterosexual couples) is called the *Shabbat-Chatan* (Groom's Shabbat) and in Masorti congregations, *Shabbat-Chatan-Kallah* (Groom and Bride's Shabbat). In Dikla's case, she requested that it be called *Shabbat-Kallah-Kallah*. Her request stirred a spirited discussion in her congregation. Never had such an event been held in the synagogue. The discussion was halachic, ideological, and very impassioned. The community was split between the conservatives and the liberals, with a decided numerical advantage to the liberals, but a very strong and unequivocal dissent by the conservatives. I documented the discussion, which I attended, in my research journal. Having closely observed the discussions, it seemed to me that Dikla's marriage was a meaningful juncture in her life and it was important to her, as a matter of principle, to mark it within her setting of communal life. It was important for her to earn the recognition of the social network to which she belonged, even though she was part of it mainly as a child and much less so as an adult. As Dikla conducted negotiations with the congregation, she asked, as Bourdieu might phrase it, to fall back on her social and cultural capital, in order to give a Jewish dimension - as well as social legitimacy - to the very unconventional marriage ceremony that she wished to have. She felt that she was entitled to it based on norms of reciprocity, mutual validation, support, and backing that a social network provides to those in it. Ultimately, she succeeded in this. The congregation granted her request. Social capital, in her case, seemed to prove itself a resource that could be realized in full.

In the broader sense, the general Israeli-Jewish religious field featured its own doxa. My own personal impression, throughout my life as a non-denominationally-affiliated Israeli and, later, as a Masorti practitioner, is that for the average Jewish Israeli, the element of religion has always seemed to constitute only one part, and not necessarily the central one, of Jewish outlook. This doxa of Israeli-Jewish culture would have naturally presented challenges for the first-generation group. On the one hand, some participants talked of having felt a natural, intuitive connection to hiloni Israeli Jews, and Israeli culture suited them in many ways; offering an open lifestyle, with its liberal

set of values as regards commitment to democracy, to free press, and to good governance. However, people like Ran noted that

We came from America, land of the free, a place where everybody's rights were protected. We could not get how religion could be so restricted, controlled by politics. To this day it disturbs me. It is way more than being upset about something, it makes me angry. Truly angry. I followed my Zionist dream, I care for this place, I love this place, my children were born here, and yet there is some kind of an establishment that looks down on me because of the way that I practice my Judaism! Look, I turn red just from speaking about it (Ron, 1st gen).

It was, therefore, chiefly in terms of their religiosity that first-generation participants had had trouble finding their place. Theoretically, they might have found a home among the religious-Jewish population in Israel, for whom Judaism featured as a major part of the doxa. However, this population was overwhelmingly Orthodox, and did not accept the legitimacy of the Masorti approach. Due to the historical developments, as outlined in Chapter 2 of this study, leading to the situation whereby only Orthodox Judaism had real visibility in society, it would seem that many Israeli Jews lacked the raw material with which to imagine an alternative form of Judaism. The encounter between the doxa of the first generation and that of hiloni Israeli society had, therefore, established certain structural boundaries in the religious-Jewish context; things that might have seemed acceptable to do to one group could look strange or even reprehensible to the other.

Second-generation participants, conversely, having grown up in Israeli society, would have been strongly influenced by some of the elements of Israeli doxa. Sarit addressed this ambiguity:

Today when I am defined as hiloni I do not feel comfortable with this, although I have stopped observing Shabbat. But I certainly could not be defined as religious. I guess I have one foot in each world. I think that many of my friends are torn in this way. Hiloni? No, we are not. But religious, good God, no way! (Sarit, 2nd gen).

Religious ritual emerged as less important to second-generation participants in general than to their parents, though it remained present in their value and behavioral systems.

5.3.3 Old comforts and new doxa

While the social aspect had demonstrably played a significant motivational role for first-generation participants in founding new congregations, it must be remembered that the subject of discussion here is a community based on religious outlook and shared values.

In this context, in describing their encounter with the doxa of the new field, Gershon and Ron, of the first generation, spoke of their expectations as stemming from the familiar, comfortable, Masorti Jewish lifestyle, which clearly diverged from the common Israeli doxa:

One of the most striking experiences I had in Israel after my aliyah was the sense of loneliness. A Jew needs a congregation. Only a group of at least ten Jews are considered a minyan. In the US I always had a minyan that I felt comfortable with. But here? In Israel? In the Orthodox synagogue near our house, I would feel ideologically isolated. . . . There was no room for open discussion. When I needed a synagogue for my *aufruf*¹¹, I went to Tel Aviv, where there was a Masorti rabbi whom I knew, and my connection to the movement was then renewed . . . I had found a place to pray (Gershon, 1st gen).

The attitude was not ‘We are coming here to build the Masorti movement,’ but more like ‘Where will we pray?’ It was unthinkable that a woman would sit behind a mechitza. . . . I do not want to judge Orthodox Judaism, it is not my place and as a pluralist I respect their choice to pray in their own customary way, but I find it hard to understand how in our era it can be considered justifiable to place the women behind a closed barrier, as if they should not be seen. I could not do it to my wife, and she would never tolerate it (Ron, 1st gen).

Second-generation interviews paint a different picture. Fewer participants of this generation were members of a religious congregation, and only some of these would discuss this from a faith-driven perspective. Despite the unwritten, sometimes unspoken expectation from NOAM graduates that they join a Masorti congregation as adults or, alternately, in the event that they lived in a neighborhood or community where there was no Masorti congregation, that they establish one, this would in fact rarely happen.

The issue of official membership in a Masorti congregation is complex. Beyond the financial commitments, there are the further questions of degrees of affiliation, emotional commitment, and, chiefly, active interest. Although most second-generation participants had not joined congregations, they did note the importance to them of having their children involved in Masorti life through a congregation:

No, I’m not a member of a Masorti congregation today, but because I had been at a program in a Masorti congregation in Tel Aviv a few months ago, I still receive their weekly emails. In the last one, they wrote about a Torah scroll dedication ceremony, and I actually want to go . . . but I don’t think I will. . . . There were times when I checked out what lectures were being given there. Will I join a

¹¹ The term referring to the Shabbat before a wedding, when the groom is called to the Torah.

congregation when I have children? [Pause] Yes, it is possible . . . I hope I will. Well, it depends on my spouse as well, of course, but yes - I hope I will. And if my spouse objected? Well, I guess it would push me to become a member even more! (Sarit, 2nd gen).

I am not a member of a congregation today but I could be in the future. When my child grows up, then very possibly. . . . I guess my parents wanted to give us a meaningful Jewish experience and it motivated them to create a Masorti congregation and to be members in that congregation all their lives. So who knows. Maybe it will happen to me, too (Tal, 2nd gen).

There thus emerge from the interviews significant differences regarding community between the first- and second-generation groups. For example, faith-based motivation for joining a congregation was more pronounced within first-generation participants. For the second generation, the communal features were described as more important than halachically-based motivations.

As Jewish teens affiliated with Masorti Judaism in the 1950s and 1960s in North America, one of the main elements contributing to the first-generation group's religious outlook was their Jewish experience at summer camps (Sarna, 2004). "Who I am today in terms of Judaism, and where I am today - Israel, are both largely due to the wonderful summers I spent at camp Ramah" (Gershon, first generation). Once participants of the first generation understood the nature of the doxa of the new religious field they encountered in Israel, they looked for ways to create an equivalent experience for their children. The result was NOAM summer camp, of which second-generation interviewees reported their experiences as follows:

I took a lot from it. Confidence, knowledge, ability to pray. I opened up. One summer at camp - we were really small - the counsellors read some Gemara, and we spoke, and my mind opened up to self-expression . . . I learned to see what Judaism was, to feel that it was mine, that you could get a lot from it. Judaism and democracy, for example. They educated us to think. They didn't say, this is the way things are, take it or leave it. There was always a question . . . it was always more a question mark than an exclamation mark. I think it was a good educational strategy. I took a lot out of it. And it would not have been easy! Sometimes it must have been easier to simply say 'this is the way we do it'. But in NOAM they hardly ever used this sentence (Sarit, 2nd gen).

Informal education, and the NOAM summer camp in particular, gave me the tools to analyse, understand, think. . . . I am a big fan of youth movements. School, even if it is a very good one, while does provide you with some things, it is not enough. Only informal approaches create the openness so necessary to the nurturing of one's emotions and feelings. And if it comes with religious knowledge, like we received in NOAM - it is a big plus. I'm fortunate (Leah, 2nd gen).

Camp constituted a kind of ‘bubble’ - an educational microcosm that allowed a full Jewish life for the duration of a three-week period. Levine (1987) describes how, traditionally, the youth in such camps have been deliberately made to be very involved in running day-to-day camp activities. They would lead prayers, blessings and discussions, do some teaching, and often serve as counselors and unit heads. In this way, the camp experience functioned as a powerful factor in facilitating the acquisition, shaping, and consolidation of the cultural capital and religious outlook of the second generation as a whole. In this way camp NOAM effectively created a new community; a field with a Masorti-oriented doxa. The relationships formed would become, for many second-generation participants, a social network that would accompany them during their adult lives as well, shaping their religious outlook accordingly.

5.4 Values and Beliefs

It seemed to me that a consideration of the religious outlook of individuals would be incomplete without an attempt to gauge their approach towards matters of beliefs and ethics. In this study, participants were asked a number of questions related to this not-easily-defined element of their religious outlook. The discussion of these subjects added, in some cases, a sense of embarrassment or intimacy to the general interviewee–interviewer relationship. This, even by itself, can serve as an illustration of the sensitive nature of being asked to share, even for academic reasons, one’s very personal beliefs.

5.4.1 The Question of God

Approaching the end of each interview, I would raise the issue of belief in God. I used a simple technique: I would say the word ‘God’, with an implied question mark, as it were, at the end, and then fall silent. I let the space fill with the silence. In my research journal, I noted how there was, generally, with the first-generation participants, a certain discomfort in the room before the interviewee reacted and began to speak. Yaakov (1st gen) exclaimed, “Who’s interested in that?” whereas Betty (1st gen) laughed and described herself as “not really a religious person... I feel very Jewish, but I don’t know what I mean by it.”

Gershon and Yonatan, who did talk about God, viewed this topic ambiguously:

I believe in the existence of God, but not that He wrote the Bible. I do not seek theological explanations for phenomena. Most of the theological explanations disgust me. I can live with [the notion of] God because it is a question of personal faith based on my feelings as a created being, and not, as it used to be for me, out of any attempt to explain how every commandment of God in the Torah is supposed to be correct and moral. . . . Simple? No, it is not simple. Life isn't simple and faith isn't simple. There are no simple answers to complicated questions. But this is the beauty of it. This is why I'm so attached to Judaism. I am inspired by this complexity (Gershon, 1st gen).

Gershon's outlook appeared to reflect one of the basic tenets of Masorti Judaism, as described by Golinkin (1998); the recognition of the Torah as a decidedly human interpretation of some superior force in history. Gershon's emphasis thus rested on the individual rather than on God.

Yonatan, in spite of the fact that he was a rabbi, implied that it was so complex that he preferred not to deal with it:

God? That's a difficult question. . . . The general answer is yes, I believe. But not in the simplistic God . . . and it's not that it preoccupies me all the time; it doesn't even interest me. When I was a congregational rabbi, before I had made aliyah, someone once commented that in my lectures, I never spoke about God. . . . I think that some of my congregants back then did expect that their rabbi would talk about God, at least from time to time. But I simply couldn't. God, in my eyes, is way more complicated. It is not 'that little guy in the sky', oh no. Well, this may be one of the reasons why I am not a pulpit rabbi anymore (Yonatan, 1st gen).

Many of the first-generation participants tended thus to sidestep the question of God, almost refusing to talk about it. This surprised me. In my research diary, I noted my bemusement that people with such strong religious convictions faced such difficulty in dealing with a subject so seemingly basic to any monotheistic religion.

Second-generation participants supplied diverse responses to the idea of God. In contrast to the first generation, they readily spoke about their thoughts and emotions about God. Erez's approach was as follows:

God is not so relevant. I am sceptical about all the things that are 'around'; the mysticism. My Judaism doesn't have to be about God. I distance myself from the abstract. . . . I am not claiming that mysticism isn't Jewish or that Judaism has no place for mysticism. I cannot deny that it is an integral part of Judaism. But I do not feel that it speaks to me. You can be a faithful Jew without it. At least I can, or it would be better to say - a Masorti Jew can (Erez, 2nd gen).

Dikla spoke in this context about love of God:

I believe very strongly. In something very great, due to which everything exists. A guiding hand. I believe that we have much to contribute as human beings whom God has made in His image. I love Him very much. He is present in my life. I speak to Him. At candle-lighting on Shabbat evening, I cover my eyes, and there are always 2 or 3 minutes when everyone is hugging and kissing, asking things of God, thanking him. . . . Even now, as I speak to you, I am blushing. Why? I do not know. I feel that talking about God is like talking about a too intimate relationship. I do not feel comfortable discussing it (Dikla, 2nd gen).

For Daniela, it was clear that talking about God was a pregnant topic. She mused,

God [deep breath]; that is a subject that for me comes with a question mark. In prayer, I ask myself if this is prayer to God or just something to remind us to give thanks for what we have. But this question I direct to a higher power. I also speak a little with God [begins to cry]. Once, at camp, we had to draw God. This assignment stunned me so much, that I just started to cry. Now I am reminded of it . . . God. That is a question that is hard for me . . . so I don't confront it (Daniela, 2nd gen).

Dalit vacillated. The question seemed to make her uncomfortable, but not so much as to prevent her from engaging with it in the first place, as in the case of so many first-generation interviewees:

God? No, I don't think so. I'm not certain; it could be . . . I hope not. I speak to Him sometimes but generally, I don't think so. . . . Can we skip this question? God, who speaks about God? (Dalit, 2nd gen).

As seen here, second-generation participants did generally try to deal with the question of God more openly and straightforwardly than the first generation. They even seemed quite troubled by it. They had things to say about God; He definitely preoccupied them. Perhaps the interplay between God, their lives and society was more powerful than they were able to admit, in line with Bourdieu's position that

God is never anything other than society. What is expected of God is only ever obtained from society, which alone has the power to justify you, to liberate you from facticity, contingency, and absurdity (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 196).

I noted in my diary that even though Jewish practice was less tangible in their lives as compared with the first generation group's, God was often more present for second-generation interviewees. I saw this as a clear reflection of the differences in the groups' religious outlooks. This difference between the uneasy, ambivalent, and even defensive way that the first-generation participants coped with the concept of God and with its relation to their outlook, and the more direct, intuitive way second-generation participants dealt with it, is somewhat reinforced by the quantitative findings. In the

questionnaires, half of the second-generation respondents answered a simple ‘Yes’ to the question about belief in God (Graph 4, below). Close to one-fifth (comprising 7%+10%) responded either that they did not believe in God or that they were indifferent to the question. One-third of the respondents gave alternative answers, most of which demonstrated a belief in God as defined differently - or differently to their subjective feeling - from the traditional definition of God.

Graph 4



5.4.2 Flexibility in religious approach

‘Halacha’ is the term used in Judaism for the set of laws according to which a Jew is obliged to act and upon which he must base his or her life. Masorti Judaism is defined as halachic Judaism; that is, as committed to halacha (Golinkin, 1998). This involves its adaptation, according to the Masorti halachic interpretation developing over the generations, to modern times. Most Masorti Jews, however, both within Israel and worldwide, do not live a halachically-bound lifestyle. Participants of both generations described a discrepancy, in this context, between their outlook and practice. Yitzhak (1st gen) said, “I want to pray every day, but don’t always manage. It’s an aspiration.” Yaakov, in contrast, justified his outlook on principle:

I skip *musaf* [see Glossary]. I’m against sacrifices. It might not be halachic, but I’m of the opinion that you need to have courage in order to change anything . . . I

look at the values; I'm not necessarily praying to God. . . . Am I not a good Masorti Jew because of this? I don't think so. I took God out of the equation not because He isn't there, or because He doesn't exist. He may exist. I just do not think it is relevant. Judaism is not about believing. It is about doing (Yaakov, 1st gen).

Finally, Ron contested the definition of obligation in Masorti Judaism as a law-based system:

One of the mistakes of the Masorti movement was to base itself on a halachic infrastructure. Judaism is a phenomenon, not a legal framework. . . . The Orthodox tend to see Judaism as a legal framework, and occasionally I feel that some of us, as Masorti Jews, are adopting this paradigm. Well, I myself am against it. Very much (Ron, 1st gen).

This disparity between halachic code and practical life within Masorti Judaism seems expressive of an internal contradiction. However, this reflects one of the movement's basic tenets; tradition and change (M. Waxman, 1958). Golinkin (1998) argues that responsible utilization of flexibility in interpreting halacha in order to keep it relevant as the times change, is what has enabled the Jewish religion, according the historic-positivist approach to Judaism as exemplified by the Masorti stream, to be passed on from generation to generation. In Bourdieusian terms, a changed doxa had forced Judaism to reform, to adjust its outlook and likely some of its practices, so as to maintain its vitality within society.

5.4.3 Egalitarianism

A belief in human equality, and particularly egalitarianism in Jewish worship, appears to have been firmly implanted in the Masorti participants' outlook. This too may be seen as an expression of cultural capital. For the first generation, this egalitarianism had mainly manifested itself in the conflict with the Orthodox establishment, especially as regards the status of women. The issue of egalitarianism in worship and ritual emerged as an important preoccupation in first-generation interviews, for both religious and political, liberal reasons. This element of cultural capital was recognized by the second-generation group as well. NOAM often served as the springboard for this aspect of religious outlook development. As Leah said,

Putting on tefillin was something I learned to do only at NOAM. More than it empowered me spiritually, it was a symbol of the fact that in Masorti Judaism men and women were equal. . . . To tell the truth? I did not enjoy it that much, and

after NOAM I almost never put on tefillin. But I know now that I could. I am proud that I can (Leah, 2nd gen).

For many of the second-generation participants, grappling with these issues consolidated a genuine commitment to basic attitudes of belief in equality between human beings, and in human rights. It also established the recognition of Jewish pluralism and the promotion of democratic values as a veritable way of life. It thus became part of their cultural capital. As Erez noted,

I realized how important the NOAM approach towards egalitarianism in Judaism was only when I got married. My wife didn't care much about it. I pushed her to think about being called to the Torah for the first time. . . . I think I am a feminist, and even more so when it comes to Jewish practice. I really cannot get how, for hundreds, for thousands of years, women were not part of most of the religious rituals. It is half of humanity! (Erez, 2nd gen).

While egalitarianism, as a central component of religious outlook, was important for the first-generation group, this was even more the case for the second generation. As emerging from the interviews, as well as from my own more general conversations in the context of my work, in the childhood days of the first generation there had been no women rabbis (the first ordination of women taking place only in 1986), and neither had women been counted for a minyan or called up to the Torah in any of the congregations of the 1950s and 1960s. In Israel, where the second generation had grown up, the situation was already quite different for Masorti Jews. The conflicts in the religious field with Orthodox Judaism further strengthened the commitment of Masorti Jews to egalitarianism:

I was so annoyed when the teacher at school [a regular, rather than a TALI school] told the class that in Judaism women do not wear tallit. I knew that they did! . . . Not only that, but I knew by then that most of the Jews in the world could respect women who wanted to wear tallit. But she was my teacher. I didn't have the guts back then to confront her as I should have (Tal, 2nd gen).

Tal's recounting of this emotional response testifies to the frustrating reality of the collision between the values learned at home and the reality obtaining in the general social environment. The relation to egalitarianism forms a powerful example of this.

5.4.4 Activism and social responsibility

Together with the great commitment of energy, time and resources there was, in many cases, the sense of a mission inhering in the habitus of both generations, forming part of

their religious outlook. There was a strong current, as emerging from the interviews, of Masorti activism aimed at making life better for Masorti Jews, but also for others, and, according to many participants, for Israeli Jewish society as a whole.

No doubt, the reality we encountered in Israel - religiously, educationally - had pushed us to act; to contribute to the democratic nature of Israel. It was part of our Zionist belief. I truly believe that the Masorti congregation we established made Israel more democratic . . . and more Jewish. There is more than one way to be Jewish, there are a variety of ways to observe Judaism. In that respect, the fact that there are Masorti congregations in Israel is a big blessing (Ron, 1st gen).

The establishment of Masorti congregations in Israel in the 1960s and 1970s had been meant, among other purposes, as a way to deal with the new religious field in Israel, which featured a doxa unsuitable for the new arrivals. As discussed earlier, a large number of first-generation participants had not only joined Masorti congregations in Israel, but had actually been among their founders. A great deal of determination, combined with dissatisfaction with the prevailing status quo, was required to set up such an organization - a new framework - so soon after the arrival in a new country. It entailed great commitment; marshaling considerable energies, time, and resources. Betty thus described her activist involvement in establishing a congregation:

Rosh Hashanah [see Glossary] arrived several months after we had made aliyah. We had found a place; a room in a school, and began to recruit people. We knocked on doors . . . we were very active in institutionalizing things. . . . We knew no other way, and we were not afraid of knocking on doors in the neighborhood. For some people, we had to explain from scratch what Masorti Judaism was and what was different about the way we prayed from the way Orthodox prayer was conducted. Some of those conversations were interesting, some less. To tell you that I would go again to a knock-on-the-door campaign? No, I don't think so (Betty, 1st gen).

The need for a suitable place to pray on *Yamim nora'im* (the High Holy Days. See Glossary), had caused Betty and others to invest great efforts, even though they were new in the country and had no idea if their efforts would be successful. This activism is also illustrated in Gershon's description of the establishment of his own congregation:

So I hung ads on trees to publicize that a group was organizing to set up a congregation. That was how one family contacted me and then another, and this way we set it up . . . gradually, step by step. There are no shortcuts when building a congregation. It is a process. sometimes a long one (Gershon, 1st gen).

This mobilization to set up a Masorti congregation that would fit the old religious outlook should not be understood as a given. It demonstrates a great, perhaps even

urgent need to restore one familiar element belonging to life before aliyah to the immigrants' present life.

The data demonstrates that activism was one of the elements of religious outlook successfully transmitted from the first generation to the second. The NOAM youth movement would appear to have been one of the major settings for this transmission. Sarit (2nd gen) for example, when asked what has led her, as an adult, to be deeply involved in numerous socially conscious initiatives, replied: "It was NOAM; in NOAM our minds were opened to self-expression."

NOAM reappeared as a powerful factor in the reported development of several second-generation participants' Masorti religious outlook. The participants would repeatedly speak of NOAM's influence on the shaping of their outlook, in that within the youth movement, almost nothing would appear above questioning. This was true for the original biblical sources, as well as for their ancient halachic interpretations and for today's religious rulings. As Leah (second generation) expressed it: "It was refreshing to have the opportunity to challenge even the most basic things of Judaism; and I wasn't judged for it." While it was maintained that this had to be done respectfully, not out of denigration or from a desire to change things just for the sake of novelty, it had also to be done with courage, regardless of fear or favor.

Another characteristic that often came up in the descriptions of NOAM was commitment to a democratic-humanistic value system. This featured strongly in Erez's description:

Occasionally it felt like a think tank. We argued a lot. As a matter of fact, NOAM was a source of rebellion against convention. Every democratic bone in my body comes from there, from NOAM. The political values, the liberal values. Also religious values, of course. We had discussion groups on our trips. They exposed me to a variety of opinions, and I learned that among the sages there were liberal opinions alongside more fundamentalist ones. *That* was education (Erez, 2nd gen).

Participants often attributed their tendency to activism to NOAM. The values instilled during the days of NOAM were said to accompany participants into their adulthood:

My father volunteers a lot. And more than once I would think, 'Do I volunteer enough?' That very thought, that is from NOAM. NOAM educated for activism and also for the feeling that you must do things and are not doing enough. The NOAM anthem, for example. It has serious words. . . . I think the fact that I am still in Jerusalem and supporting small businesses, and am ecologically-minded, is from NOAM. . . . I do not know enough about other youth movements, but ours, NOAM, was such a good place to grow up in (Tal, 2nd gen).

NOAM, then, might not always have succeeded in passing on to its members a halachic lifestyle, but it certainly did succeed in giving Jewish fundamentals of knowledge, a basic religious-Jewish literacy, and a commitment to assume obligations to society at large and to the Jewish community and people.

As members of a minority group in the religious field in Israel, NOAM graduates would also frequently have to defend their religious outlook as well as to explain and justify what NOAM and Masorti Judaism were:

I didn't hide my Masorti identity. On the contrary, whenever possible I accentuated it, even celebrated it. I was never ashamed. One could call it showing off, but I sometimes felt it was my duty to tell people that there was more than one way to be Jewish - a very popular slogan in NOAM. . . . And I learned from my mother to stand up for my rights; not to let anyone look down on us in terms of Judaism. Oh boy, how many heated arguments I had in school and especially in the army! (Ran, 2nd gen).

Coping with this required not only the relevant knowledge, but also the commitment to the values of freedom of religious expression, as well as the belief that there was more than one way to be Jewish. Dalit, for instance, remembered a direct action that she had been part of as a teenager:

We organized our NOAM group and went to the *Kotel* [Western Wall.] to pray; of course in our egalitarian fashion. We knew it would not be accepted there because the Orthodox were in charge, but we wanted to make a point. . . . Was it a great spiritual experience? Frankly, no. We were at the Wall, the Kotel, the holiest place in Jerusalem, but we were not concentrating on praying, but rather had come there to demonstrate, to show that egalitarian prayer was possible and should be accepted. For me, it felt like, almost, a sacred task. So it wasn't the most spiritual prayer that I ever experienced, but it meant a lot to me. Here, see, I remember it more than many other prayers I experienced and participated in (Dalit, 2nd gen).

One telling expression of this tendency is NOAM's 2009 Vision Statement, a revision of the original 1979 Statement [see appendix C], which reflects a comparatively greater freedom of choice regarding religious practices, as well as more openness. It was very religious in orientation, but much less particularistic and more pluralistic. It looked outward. It featured an emphasis on egalitarianism, a commitment to *tikun olam* (social justice) and to environmental protection, and the conspicuous absence of God in its text. The commitment of NOAM members to social justice as *tikun olam*, thus found a tangible expression in the updated NOAM vision, in an emphasis that would to a considerable degree define the habitus of the second generation. This was a focus on

neither ritual nor religious customs, nor on any attitude to either of them in the narrow sense, but, instead, on the socio-ideological reality of their lives.

The data has, overall, revealed an innate, basic, and often activist commitment to the values of humanism and social justice in the lifestyles of most participants of the second generation. This was also expressed in a tendency among this group to socially activist professions (see section 7.5 for further discussion of this aspect). It was almost as if it formed part of their cultural DNA, part of the posture of their social body; of their outlook as well as habitus.

Summary:

This chapter has demonstrated that religious outlook, understood in Bourdieusian terms, can be identified as part of cultural capital. The outlooks of the two generational groups studied here contained similarities and differences which appeared to be associated with age, but equally so to the country where one's childhood and adolescence had been experienced. For the first-generation group, it was largely expressed through activist Zionism, while for the second group it was more "embodied", or natural. Both-groups shared a commitment to education, which formed a value of cultural capital that it was important for participants to transmit to their children, irrespective of the religious practices to which it would lead.

Bourdieu's (1993) concept of field also provides an appropriate framing for the religious reality encountered by the first generation upon their arrival in Israel. In this "field", their religious doxa was rejected, together with some of the social capital with which they had arrived, spurring them to take action to create a new field, where they would feel at home. Bourdieu's (1986) ascription of social capital (mutual trust, cooperation, flow of information) to community processes has, likewise, been shown to be manifested in both groups' conduct. The exploration of values and belief as well as of general religious outlook, however, has shown considerable variation between the generational groups.

Chapter 6

Data Presentation and Analysis of Religious Practices

This chapter focuses on religious practices, applying once again the Bourdieusian concepts of social capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, field and habitus. Jewish-religious practices, as previously discussed, are understood, in this context, as behaviors based in Jewish law (halacha). In this chapter, I consider their manifestations in practices related to food, Sabbath and holiday observance, life cycle events and synagogue attendance. I see these practices as particularly important in this context because they would seem to reflect the extent to which the halachic manifestations of religious practice, such as did exist for the first generation group, were also expressed in the day-to-day lives of second-generation participants. The practices examined here reflect, to a considerable degree, the current religious practices among the first-generation group. Thus, a comparison of the day-to-day religious lives of the first-generation group, understood in these terms, against those of the second, would seem to give an indication the dynamic of intergenerational change.

6.1 Background: More than One Way to be a Jew

As described in Chapter 2, Masorti Judaism had developed in Europe, and subsequently in North America, for nearly two hundred years before it migrated to Israel. It featured unique prayer melodies and its own ways of reciting Sabbath evening blessings over the candles, wine and bread, as well as traditions and authority structures widely known and accepted among its members. All these features of habitus were carried over by the first generation of Masorti immigrants to their new home. Still, in terms of religious-Jewish practice, first-generation participants represent a wide spectrum, from relatively secular to Orthodox-Jewish equivalent levels of observance. Most of the families were affiliated with Masorti congregations, but not always due to acceptance of all of the movement's tenets. The variation between the homes was striking, as was the suggestion of a tendency within the generation in general, perhaps, to conceive of there being more than one way of being Jewish.

From the first generation, Yonatan and Betty represent, respectively, the two extremes of religious practice - strong devotion to tradition on the one hand, and almost full dissociation from religious practice on the other:

Hebrew? In our family it was almost like a religion of its own. . . . I had grown up in an unusual home. My mother was part of a group of fanatics who were completely sold on the Hebrew language. She would speak only Hebrew with me and my sister from the day we were born. As for Shabbat - we observed it as much as we were able! (Yonatan, 1st gen).

Hebrew is the language of the Jewish religion. Yet most of the Masorti Jews in this sample, living as they did outside of Israel, did not speak Hebrew well. Yonatan's mother's commitment to Hebrew demonstrates a very high commitment to Jewish practice. Betty's background offers a contrasting example:

My grandfather and grandmother had come to Canada from Russia and spoke only Yiddish. . . . I miss them so much. . . . I didn't speak Yiddish, but I could understand them, and the sound of the language was, and still is, like music to my ears. Yet this was not the case with my parents. They didn't say anything, but I could tell that they couldn't stand the use of Yiddish. Sometimes they would even pretend that they didn't understand. . . . My parents were already trying to be very Canadian. They didn't keep Shabbat and they didn't observe kashrut. Technically we belonged to the Masorti synagogue, but it was not much more than that (Betty, 1st gen).

Thus, it was from sometimes very different backgrounds that first-generation participants had set out on their way to Israel. Within the new, Israeli field, however, notwithstanding these differences in religious practice, they held in common a familiarity with synagogue and with the prayer book. When they established or joined Masorti congregations, they enjoyed a unifying doxa that suited their habitus. These were the types of congregations in which second-generation participants of this study would grow up.

The childhood memories of second-generation participants regarding the homes their parents had established in Israel replicate the impression of a broad range of Jewish practice, in their childhood homes, as with the first-generation group. To give one example, from Daniela:

I am not sure if [my parents] really paid attention to every detail or if they actually planned everything prior to their journey to Israel, but when they finally made aliyah, they decided that they would observe Shabbat to begin with, and later on would stop. Ultimately, they decided to keep kosher but not Shabbat. . . . I'm not sure why. It was never really discussed with us. They could laugh about it, even with us, but I do not recall a family discussion. It just happened. They had planned

something as a young couple, it didn't work out exactly as they had planned, and that was it (Daniela, 2nd gen).

Daniela's parents thus redefined their religious practice in the new field. Prior to their aliyah, they had thought they would be more observant in Israel. Ultimately, this did not happen. This suggests that they were flexible, with their habitus affected by the new field and, in turn, reshaping the expression of their religious practice.

Erez's household was quite different:

At home it was clear that we had to observe the commandments. I would feel alone sometimes, vis-à-vis hiloni people and vis-à-vis the Orthodox world. And in the congregation as well, it was difficult to find a family who kept Shabbat and kashrut totally. . . . We were a minority. . . . It wasn't always easy. We lived, as a family and as individuals, according to the way Masorti Jews were supposed to behave. We lived a halachic life. But this was not only quite uncommon among my friends in school, it was also uncommon in our congregation. It was only us and the rabbi's family who kept Shabbat as Shabbat was supposed to be kept, with all the rules. It may be that I am exaggerating, it may be that there were a few more families that were like us, but as a child it did not feel that way (Erez, 2nd gen).

Erez's parents were consistently demanding in their religious practice and in what they expected from their children. His family represents the more conservative attitude on the spectrum of Masorti Jewish practice. His memories, however, reflect the fact that the majority of second-generation childhood homes, even in his own parents' congregation, was characterized by a wide range of religious practices.

6.2 Observance

The decision to make aliyah is an ideological act, usually based on a profound religious commitment. One might think, therefore, that the act of aliyah, with these implications of ideological commitment, would imply a strong concern for halachically-bound religious practice. First-generation participants indeed tended to speak of high commitment to halacha in principle, but the reality appears to have proved more ambiguous.

6.2.1 Food in a communal setting: Religious practice and social capital

Food emerged in the interviews as an important feature of both generations' habitus. In Judaism, there are opportunities for this linkage between food and habitus to be expressed at synagogue, at home and in the day-to-day life of an individual. One setting within which food plays an important role as religious practice is the kiddush in the synagogue, according to Artson (1995). The kiddush begins with blessings on the food and wine that are served. This kiddush setting serves for people to interact with each other casually, outside of the prayer settings, to strengthen their sense of belonging to the community and to each other, and to maintain the support system inherent to the congregational community. In synagogues in America and in other Diaspora countries, the custom had been to hold a kiddush at every Shabbat morning service. First-generation immigrants had brought this tradition with them, with it forming, as it still does, part of their habitus in the new land as well.

Arriving at the new field, first-generation participants had established Masorti congregations as a means both of fulfillment of religious practice and of re-attainment of social capital. The synagogue was thus not purely a place for prayer, with the kiddush, especially, emerging from the interviews as serving as a productive setting for the increasing of social cohesion. The kiddush, though ostensibly a purely religious practice, would thus take on the further role of establishing, regaining and celebrating social capital, as expressed for example by Yitzhak:

You know what? The best part of synagogue for me is the kiddush, not the prayer. After two hours of praying, of talking to God, I eat, drink and talk with my friends. This is where we get to meet. . . . A kiddush is like a little party every Shabbat. For the blessing you need wine, and there is always someone who brings some whisky too - occasionally that someone is me - and it really feels like a happy gathering. A regular kiddush is like a half an hour, but it can go on. It can be longer. Sometimes we stay for over an hour (Yitzhak, 1st gen).

Betty saw it as adding to her religious experience of Shabbat mornings:

Sometimes I can't stay for the kiddush and, oddly enough, feel as if I've missed something of my religious experience. . . . It is not just that I enjoy it. It is like the second part of the prayer, an integral part of it, an extension of it. I like the melody of the Shabbat blessing before we eat and drink. It takes me back home to my parents, and the entire experience feels really festive. It is not because of the food - when there is no bar or bat mitzvah on the Shabbat the kiddush can be really modest - it's the atmosphere, the 'togetherness' (Betty, 1st gen).

For most second-generation participants, *birkat hamazon* (the blessing at the end of a meal. See Glossary) fulfilled a similar function, in the context of NOAM camps, which functioned, in this way, and as described earlier, as communal analogues of sorts for this group to the first generation's synagogues. Besides being a halachically-obligating practice, *birkat hamazon* was also utilized for the purposes of gaining a stronger sense of community, i.e., for social capital. The entire group would energetically sing together a ten-minute blessing, with participants describing it as usually accompanied by laughing, inside jokes, and special NOAM songs and body-movements:

Meals at camp were pretty bad, but who remembers that when the meal ends with the high of *birkat hamazon*? We would be singing it, sometimes even screaming it! It was fun, it was filled with good energy, with enthusiasm. We did not pay attention to the words. Only at a later stage in my life did I begin to think about the words I knew by heart from camp and really listened to them (Sarit, 2nd gen).

For both generations, then, religious rituals involving food would serve as sources of social capital. For the second generation, through NOAM, this took on a further dimension of cultural capital, which remained a unifying factor for NOAM graduates over the years.

6.2.2 Kashrut and religious observance

According to J. Katz (1961), Kashrut - Jewish dietary law - is a fundamental practice in Judaism, with Jewish law dealing in great detail with its many expressions. First-generation participants reported extensive deliberations and hesitations regarding the nature of kashrut-observance that they wanted for themselves, for their home lives, and for their children in Israel:

Prior to our aliyah, we were more observant. We would make an effort to be observant. It was something that kept us together as a family and as a congregation. It felt like the right thing to do. So yes, in the US we had kept kashrut. It wasn't a question even. It was part of being a Jew. After a while in Israel, I felt I did not need to keep it so rigidly. Why? I'm not sure; maybe because we met so many Jews who did not keep kosher and were as Jewish as I was. So slowly I started cutting corners (Moshe, 1st gen).

The data indicates that, in many first-generation households, kashrut had been a source of discussion and sometimes of conflict. Kashrut-observance took on slightly different forms in each home, with second-generation reports of the parental home reinforcing the impression of a great diversity in observance within the first generation in general.

Outside the home, attitudes to eating in restaurants reveal yet another intersection of food, religious practice and habitus. In Israel, many restaurants carry certifications of kashrut issued by the (Orthodox) Chief Rabbinate of Israel. Many others do not possess this certificate, but still adhere to the strictures of kashrut. Most first-generation participants would observe kashrut at home but find ways to allow themselves to eat in non-kosher-certified restaurants.

When you think of a Jewish State you might think that it would be run by, or at least maintain observance of some core principles of halacha. Or at least for significant elements of the Jewish tradition. Soon enough you would learn that this was not the case. . . . When we first arrived we were surprised how many restaurants in Israel, especially in Tel Aviv, did not have kashrut certification. Soon enough, we began doing what we had done back in America. We became flexible. We would go to any restaurant, but would not order meat or seafood (Devorah, 1st gen).

The data suggests a disparity, within the homes of first-generation parents in general, between kashrut-observance at home and outside the home, where in the latter case the attitude was considerably laxer:

It is as if we had two separate, or parallel worlds. . . . At home we had separate dishes; two dish-washing sponges. But we would eat ice cream after meat meals and also ate falafel from the Arabs. . . . I remember that we were on a trip to England and I saw these fried chips at breakfast. So I took a bite. My big brother really let me have it: 'You ate pork! You ate pork!' It was really traumatic for me. To this day I do not eat pork. . . . Why? I don't know. It is not because of the kashrut rules, I think. Not because of God either. It is as if I was marked this way. Pork and I are not friends. Jews should not eat pork, and I am Jewish. It sounds silly because there are so many other things that Jews should or should not do, and I do not keep any of them. But pork I do not eat (Tal, 2nd gen).

The confrontation between Tal and her brother highlights the more generally indicated sensitivity around the issue of kashrut. It would often raise questions, within the habitus of the family, about what was acceptable and what was not in the observance of kashrut:

Outside the home, we would eat at any restaurant. In the Arab villages around us, for example. I don't remember if they would let me order meat. . . . I do remember that, once, we must have eaten meat at a restaurant, and my brothers had wanted to eat ice cream and that became a subject of discussion [as eating dairy products after meat is halachically forbidden]. My parents wanted us to wait, but in the end we did eat it. The idea was that outside the house we could do whatever we wanted. . . . I am not sure that it is the best way to educate children, to have such a double standard, if you will. It is, I must admit, a kind of complicated message to grow up with. If something is a big no-no at home, how come it can be OK when we are not at home? But you know what, life is complicated, life is not black and

white, and education should reflect that too. I was raised to be flexible and it is not too bad! (Daniela, 2nd gen).

Daniela's example illustrates the flexibility in her parents' approach towards religious practice. They were in charge within the home, but outside of the home they would let the children decide for themselves. Such decisions about how and to what extent to observe kashrut became part of the new habitus of the first generation. From both participant groups' interviews there emerged a picture of the first generation as in general being slightly more flexible about dietary law when in Israel, as compared to the way they were raised and to the way they had behaved prior to making aliyah.

The attitudes to dietary law of the second generation were often very different from those of their parents. Their kashrut observance was even more flexible than that of their parents' generation had been, but it was almost never entirely absent, tending to maintain a certain presence for most of them. Dikla (second generation), for example, reported, "I eat almost everything anywhere, but any time I eat something 'forbidden' I feel a twinge of guilt." Thus, while only a small number reported having equipped their kitchen with two separate sets of tableware, for meat and for dairy dishes, even those who were not particularly strict about observing kashrut did not express indifference to the rules. The convention of kashrut remained present in their lifestyle in all cases, forming a substantial part of their habitus. They would consciously define their position at any given period on a kashrut-continuum between the permitted and the forbidden: This I will do; this I will do only occasionally, or only in certain situations; and this, I will never do. Their positions were dynamic and likely to change over time:

I must say that I am not so consistent. Sometimes I do more and sometimes I do less. . . . In the army I kept kashrut. Soon afterwards, I stopped because it no longer made much sense to me. Now, as a parent, I do observe more. . . . One could call it flexibility, one could call it laziness, I am not sure what it really is. Maybe it is both (Ran, 2nd gen).

Leah and Daniela (second generation) said that they observed kashrut as strictly as their parents had. Erez (second generation) maintained a completely kosher kitchen, including separate dishware, but admitted, "We are less strict about waiting between meat and milk, but we do acknowledge it." Sarit had a different place to draw the line:

In a restaurant, I will not order shrimps, but if it is on the table - I will eat it. Pork, I will never in my life order. . . . Even when someone else orders pork, I never taste it. I was curious about shrimps, but about pork there was not even that. It is more of a symbol, I think (Sarit, 2nd gen).

The attitude to pig meat, the great taboo in Jewish kashrut law, was shared by almost every second-generation participant. Even those who were far from maintaining an active religious-Jewish lifestyle chose to mention, and often to emphasize, that the meat of a pig would never enter their mouths or their homes. This highly emotional, insistent reaction suggests that avoidance of pork was a particularly important aspect of successfully transmitted habitus between the generations.

Overall, the data demonstrated that the subject of kashrut has been significant in the lives of both generation groups. It formed part of the habitus of both, though the religious practice of second-generation participants was generally characterized by lesser observance of halacha.

6.2.3 Observance of Shabbat

Shabbat observance forms a very conspicuous aspect of Jewish-religious practice. As in kashrut observance, the level and extent of Shabbat observance varied widely between the homes, in both generation groups.

There was a difference in the way we conducted our Jewish lives before our aliyah to Israel as compared to afterwards. . . . When we had lived abroad, we would drive to the synagogue on Shabbat, but once we had made aliyah, we decided to keep Shabbat. No electricity, no telephones, no music, no radio, no TV. . . . We felt that it completed our aliyah experience. It made it even more sacred, I would say. That decision was made deliberately. We felt so Jewish when we decided to move to Israel. So committed. So religious (Ron, 1st gen).

Ron changed his religious practice upon arriving in Israel. While he chose to increase his Shabbat-observance, he was not typical, in this, of his generation:

Our religious experience, our religious observance got a twist in Israel. And not the one we had expected when we started to think of aliyah. When we lived in America we observed Shabbat in a very strict way. We made an effort to keep Shabbat. We were living in a neighborhood with not so many Jews around us, and in order to feel Shabbat, to feel the festivity of it, the joy, we had to create a Jewish environment around us, in a way. . . . But Shabbat in Israel is amazing; by Friday at 2 PM you can feel it. The shops are closed; the driving is different. It permeates the air. It allowed us, frankly, to keep a much less constraining Shabbat. We were not as observant at home. But don't get me wrong, Shabbat was still Shabbat! (Yonatan, 1st gen).

It might be possible to speculate, tentatively, about a certain tendency within first-generation parents' households in general, to attempt to maintain Shabbat-observance as

cultural capital, while avoiding obedience to the strict rules of halacha, This emerges, for instance, from second-generation participant Tal's statements about her parents' conduct:

Shabbat was not kept in a very strict way, although it was very important to my parents that we would all feel that it was Shabbat today. So yes, we travelled, we went on trips, used lights, TV, but we did do the Friday night ritual. On Shabbat morning, we would eat waffles. That was also a ritual . . . that is, a very non-Shabbat observance [because it involves the halachically-forbidden use of electricity or fire on the Sabbath]. But making an actual barbecue, no, absolutely not. You don't do that kind of thing on Shabbat . . . it is too public, too proclamatory, the smell of the meat on the grill gets to your neighbors and affects their Shabbat experience. It is simply not done (Tal, 2nd gen).

The dynamic that Yonatan (1st gen) and Tal (2nd gen) describe in first-generation family life in Israel was also felt in the lives of most second-generation participants as adults. They did not generally observe the Shabbat in accordance with halacha, but the cultural capital attached to the Shabbat had still been transmitted from the one generation to the other. Although its observance was practiced in different ways, it remained part of the habitus of both generations. "I keep a Shabbat atmosphere", said Tal (2nd gen). Ran (2nd gen) smiled as he characterized his Shabbat as "half-observed." Some participants described disputes and tension over Shabbat-observance, even as a weekly occurrence:

We had lots of tensions at home around it. In some ways it colored my childhood with not-so-good memories. . . . As children we were not allowed to go to class parties on Shabbat . . . there were plenty of tears over that. . . . Wow, how angry I was. I was furious at my parents. I yelled, screamed, cried. . . . The best parties were on Friday night, and here I was, stuck at home with my family, unable to join my best friends because the parties were as far from Shabbat observance as can be (Daniela, 2nd gen).

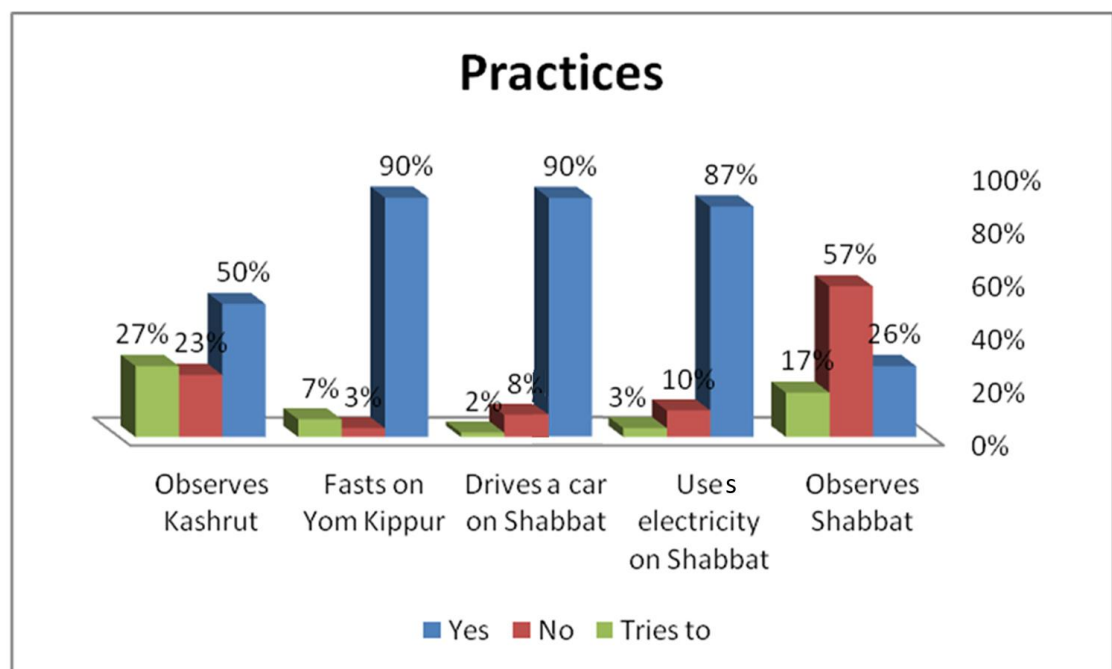
There were those who observed Shabbat according to halacha and those who observed it in their own ways, but no participant expressed actual indifference to Shabbat. This may, of course, have been an omission due to participants feeling too embarrassed to express religious indifference in the ears of an interviewer who they knew to also play a role in the movement. However, my overall impression from the interviews was that such a dynamic was not in place, with participants appearing to otherwise speak quite freely about conduct that was not properly halachic.

Like kashrut, then, Shabbat was very much felt as a presence in the homes of all of the first- and second-generation participants, regardless of the level of halachic observance. Both generation groups had many interviewees speak of Shabbat as meaningful and as

having some specific religious practices attached to it. In Bourdieusian terms, it can be understood as a form of cultural capital successfully passed from generation to generation. Shabbat formed a definite part of both generations' habitus.

The quantitative analysis of the religious practices of the additional group of second-generation respondents (Graph 5) indicates an apparent inconsistency in their commitment to halachic observance. The two practices most adhered to were kashrut (50%) and fasting on Yom Kippur (90%). On the other hand, the vast majority drove on Shabbat (90%) and used electricity on Shabbat (87%). These findings, though they fall short of demonstrating the maintenance of a halachic lifestyle, do certainly indicate the retention of a significant relation to tradition, reinforcing the suggestion of the existence of a continuum of adherence, rather than a simple dichotomy between observance and disregard of religious law.

Graph 5



6.2.4 Synagogue attendance: Recommended or obligatory?

Masorti congregations in Israel assemble throughout the year on Friday evenings for the prayers in welcome of the Shabbat (*Kabbalat Shabbat*) as well as on Shabbat mornings. These are the times when the congregation comes together to practice its rituals as a

community. As founders of the congregations, many of the first-generation participants had seen it as a given that they would attend the services regularly:

For me it was a given, and I made it the family rule. It was an important declaration. This is simply what we do. And indeed, we made every effort to go every Shabbat. It was part of life. It made our Shabbat a Shabbat. I must admit, though, that it was a less than perfect situation, because my children were not always willing to come along. . . . There was a gap between my declaration and what would become the reality. I did want to educate my children, but sometimes coercion is not the best way to educate. So I asked, pushed, sometimes even begged or bribed. And it worked for the most part. Not always, not every Shabbat - sometimes I went by myself or with just one of my children, but overall I think I succeeded in giving them the Shabbat experience that I wanted (Gershon, 1st gen).

In the same context, second-generation participants, as children, would go to the synagogue regularly for at least one of the Shabbat prayers. As with kashrut and Shabbat observance, first-generation Masorti parents' households would appear to have otherwise varied in the level of religious practice as regards attendance at services.

We would always go to the synagogue. Both on Friday night and on Shabbat mornings. I stopped going around the time after my bat mitzvah, when I began to sleep in later on Shabbat. . . . It was part of growing up, like saying to the world - well, to my father, mostly - that I would do only what I wanted. That he could not coerce me - being a teenager. He used to make a noise next to my door on Shabbat mornings, trying to wake me up without actually getting into my room. It didn't work for him, at least not in most cases. Was I mean? (Daniela, 2nd gen).

Here, too, some second-generation participants indicated a subtle tension every week over the question of going to prayers:

My parents went fairly regularly, but they never forced me to. They very much wanted us to come, which is actually its own kind of coercion. . . . When I think about it today, and even back then, I did feel how manipulative they were being about my going or not going to the synagogue with them on Shabbat. They used every trick possible, but did not force us. We felt the pressure, but it was an implicit one. It was in the air (Tal, 2nd gen).

If Tal felt vexed by a sense of coercion, Sarit seemed more at ease with an apparently similar dynamic existing with her parents over religious practice:

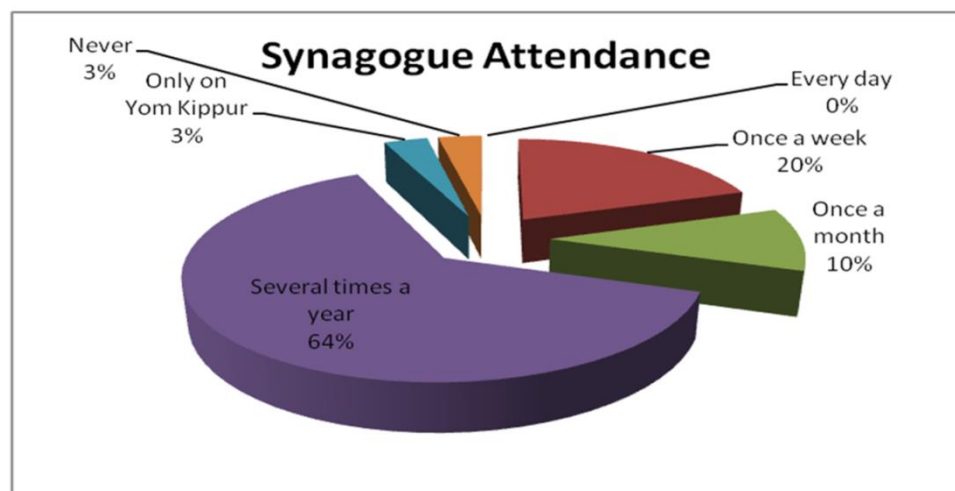
They would expect me to come, but I never felt that I was obliged to. Sometimes I would get there at the very end of the services. And sometimes I never got there at all. It was open-ended. . . . I say this to their credit. I think I liked the synagogue, at least more than many of my friends did, because I was never forced to go. It was up to me, or at least that was what my parents wanted me to feel and think. And you know what? It worked for them. I look back at my childhood experiences in the synagogue during Shabbats very fondly (Sarit, 2nd gen).

The majority of second-generation participants did not see synagogue attendance as having been forced upon them during childhood. It was felt to be voluntary, despite the existence of an expectation that they go.

As adults, second-generation participants seem to have generally lacked the intensity of drive that had characterized their parents, in pursuing full engagement in the observance of religious practices. They were, overall, less involved than their parents' generation in this aspect of Jewish life.

The questionnaire data provides an illustration of some further patterns in second-generation synagogue attendance in general. Most members of this group would not attend the synagogue regularly, but would still make a special effort to go several times a year (Graph 6). This finding is in accordance with the patterns emerging from the interview data. Synagogue attendance, it would seem, despite its lowered frequency, would not be totally obliterated from the questionnaire population's lives. It must have remained important to them, inasmuch as they would find themselves in synagogue not merely on Yom Kippur, when many otherwise secular Jews would attend services, but on several other occasions during the year as well.

Graph 6



6.3 Coming of Age: Bar and Bat Mitzvahs

Further important instances of religious practice are the bat mitzvah at the age of twelve for girls, and bar mitzvah at thirteen for boys. These are Jewish rituals; rites of passage from childhood to adulthood. From this age on, observant Jews are required to follow

halachic commandments. An important part of the ritual involves being called up to read from the Torah on the Shabbat closest to the date of the person's relevant birthday. Preparation for this Shabbat is generally quite lengthy, extending over several months of study of the relevant blessings and Torah verses. This important ceremony, in the Jewish world in general as well as in Israel, can become a formative personal and familial memory. Many first-generation participants had strong memories from their religious-Jewish coming of age, and it was important for most of them to see their children continuing this tradition.

I remember my parents and grandparents at my bar mitzvah. I was so nervous and they were so proud. I looked forward to myself being this proud parent. . . . I really want my children to go through that same experience. It is important because this is what Jews do, as my father used to say, but it is also a significant memory I carry with me - an important stage in growing up (Moshe, 1st gen).

In Israel, this important religious practice took on additional significance - particularly for girls. Orthodox dominance within the religious field precluded the possibility for girls of celebrating bat mitzvah in the same manner of boys, as a significant religious ritual, involving a public Torah reading. Only in non-Orthodox Jewish settings could girls have the opportunity to conduct this ritual. Female second-generation participants looked back at their bat mitzvah experience with powerful sentiment: "I remember my bat mitzvah as something tremendous, dramatic!" (Sarit, 2nd gen).

Sarit took great pride in the fact that she had celebrated a bat mitzvah. There were not many girls in her class who had had one:

It was unique; it was even revolutionary at the time in my school. I felt I was a feminist leader! . . . This experience really shaped me as woman. Here I was, standing in the center of the synagogue, reading from the Torah, doing something that generations of women could not do. It became such a significant part of my Jewish identity. It actually contributed to my Jewish pride more than anything else, I think (Sarit, 2nd gen).

Dikla did not have a full bat mitzvah ceremony, but carried with her to the present day its absence with some pain:

Bat mitzvah [deep breath]. No, I didn't read from the Torah. I had stage fright that really stressed me out. So I did study and I did go up to the *bema*¹², but together with the whole class. A bat mitzvah of my own? That I didn't have. . . . Am I

¹² The stage upon which the Torah is read from aloud.

sorry? Yes, I guess so. Maybe I should have been made to do it. It might have helped, but who knows. It might equally have become a huge trauma. But I wish I were able to look backwards and say 'Sure, I had a bat mitzvah!' (Dikla, 2nd gen).

In describing the experience, many participants mentioned studying, and particularly learning the cantillation system. This tool enables its learner to recite the weekly Torah portion and the *haphtarah*¹³ in the traditional Jewish melody. Mastery of the cantillation, like mastery in a musical instrument, can be understood as an asset playing a powerful part in the cultural capital accumulated in the course of religious life:

Wow, my bat mitzvah! What a great experience I had. I had begun studying approximately a year before my bat mitzvah. My father would teach me. At my bat mitzvah, I led the service for *Kabbalat Shabbat*; I read from the Torah; I read the haphtarah, with all of the cantillation symbols. Since then, I have read from the Torah many times, at NOAM as well, and also on Shabbat. It's a real asset! . . . I carry so many good memories from that age, and especially from the ceremony itself. I was an outgoing kind of a girl. I liked being at the center of attention, and you cannot be more 'at the center' than on the day of your bat mitzvah (Daniela, 2nd gen).

The religious practices to do with coming of age and bat mitzvah, would, thus, serve in the Israeli context not only as religious rituals but also as acts of activism for the second generation, as it forms an attempt to promote change in cultural expectations regarding girls' religious expression. The practices became part of their cultural capital, as a demonstration of their religious outlook.

6.4 Transmission of Habitus

In this section, I examine the dynamics of the transmission of religious practice, conceptualized as Bourdieusian habitus - the socialized norms or tendencies guiding behavior and thinking (Bourdieu, 2004) - between the two generations.

Both generations expressed a desire to transmit their habitus to their offspring. Both, whether parents to children already or presently childless, were clear about their desire and intention for their children to practice Judaism. First-generation participants

¹³ The haftarah is one of a series of selections from one of the books of Prophets in the Bible, which is publicly read in synagogue as part of Jewish ritual. It follows the Torah reading on each Sabbath and on Jewish festivals.

generally tried to minimize conflicts with their children concerning observance of Jewish law:

I am going to share with you something that I have not shared with many people [pauses]. It is an incident that I keep thinking about. . . . We had a crisis when my daughter turned sixteen. One Friday evening I looked out the window and saw her getting into a jeep. When she came back . . . I said to her, 'I'm disappointed in you. Not because you travelled by car on Shabbat - I educated you to know that you have freedom of choice - but because you did it behind my back. We didn't educate you to lie at home.' She cried; we talked. And I saw that keeping Shabbat was not for her. Hers is not a personality that can be hemmed in. She's looking for something else. . . . Was it painful to me? Yes. It still is. To this day, if I want to be completely honest with myself (Yaakov, 1st gen).

Yaakov thus ultimately respected, not without pain, the fact that his daughter's habitus turned out to be different from his.

Friday night, as discussed earlier, was a weekly recurring source of intergenerational tension concerning Jewish practice for some interviewees. Gershon described his home situation as one where his habitus was readily taken on by his children:

I think we were lucky. Very lucky. Maybe because we believed in the cause so much, and our children felt it. . . . There weren't many conflicts. If there was a party on Friday night that was not within walking distance, they wouldn't go. And they accepted that. Shabbat was Shabbat, and you didn't go to parties on Shabbat evening... None of the children ever really rebelled. . . . I know this was not always the case with some of my friends' children. Class parties on Shabbat were a perennial topic in our conversations over kiddush at the synagogue. Some let it go. Some did not. I was fortunate, I think. My children accepted the prohibition (Gershon, 1st gen).

Betty's children also did not go out on Friday night, but under different conditions:

My husband and I talked about it more than once. We decided not to relent, to insist on having meaningful Jewish education and meaningful Jewish moments as much as possible. . . . Did we force them to do things as children? Yes. We were stricter than other homes. We didn't let them go to parties on Friday nights. But there were no great arguments. They weren't that kind of rebellious children. It was not a great issue, but it was an issue. We were strict. . . . Sometimes in education you need to be strict. Or at least when it has worked [she smiles] you can say that. Were we lucky? Probably, yes (Betty, 1st gen).

The absence of descriptions in the interviews of open conflicts was, however, perhaps too striking. It suggested a somewhat suspiciously docile picture of second-generation adolescent behaviour. It seems hard to imagine that the typical teenage rebellion completely skipped certain households or certain sensitive topics, such as the observance of the not-always-flexible rules of the Jewish religion. It is possible that not

all of the participants were comfortable sharing these experiences, or alternatively, that the teenage rebellion of their children may have been covert and conducted behind their parents' back so as to avoid open conflict – a desire that was mentioned in a general way in several of the first-generation interviews. The fact remains that despite their parents' educational efforts, most second-generation participants did not adopt their practices and commitments. However, the data indicates that most remained committed to the transmission of habitus to their children, on the same basis of what they had received at home: “I would want to raise them as I was raised” (Daniela, second generation). Sarit (second generation) claimed that she would change her religious practice when she has children in order to give them the same education that she has received; “Just as I had grown up.”

What emerges from the interviews is that second-generation participants wished to reproduce, sometimes exactly, their own childhood experience: A home that provided a basic Jewish education and a foundation for Jewish practice. As Dikla noted frankly, about her attitude in the event that she raised a daughter:

If my daughter ended up not knowing how to read from the Torah, I would be ashamed. Oh, I'd make sure she knows! . . . I would use every trick in the book to make her not only know how to do it, but also to love it. I know that it would not be easy. But I'd owe it to myself. Maybe more than that, to her. . . . It would build her confidence, it would educate her to believe in equality, to be a feminist, to lead. I know it sounds like I would be forcing my values on her, but isn't that what education is all about? (Dikla, 2nd gen).

Dikla's statements are thus in line with Bourdieu's (2004) description of the transmission of capital, wherein he argues that cultural capital operates as a conduit of social reproduction, alongside resources like financial and social capital.

Half of the second-generation participants already had their own children. As raising these children moved from the realm of theory to that of practice, according to their accounts, disparities between the ideals and realities of child-rearing emerged. Sometimes, in order to transmit religious practice, the education they provided became stricter and more conservative than what they themselves had been given at home. As Leah described it:

It is important to me that my children behave like Masorti Jews. But I would also like very much to be like my father and accept them whatever they decide to do in life. . . . Sometimes I find myself forcing them to participate in birkat hamazon at the end of Shabbat dinner or being a bit strict with them in other practices; old school style. . . . Will it work? I hope so. I really do. I am not sure. I do not want

them to hate it, but I can't, simply can't, let their childhood pass by without having them enjoy the Shabbat atmosphere as it ought to be experienced. I hope they will not hate me for that (Leah, 2nd gen).

Tal, too, had internal debates about her wishes for her children:

I'm conflicted about my son. I am debating whether to send him to a hiloni school or to TALI. On the one hand, I want him to be familiar with synagogue, and to love it. Just as I used to be. These are my roots. I don't want it to be foreign to him. On the other hand, I do not want him to be more observant than I am. . . . If he decides to keep kosher in a strict way, or to keep Shabbat, it might cause conflicts. I do not want Judaism to be a source of acrimony, not in our home (Tal, 2nd gen).

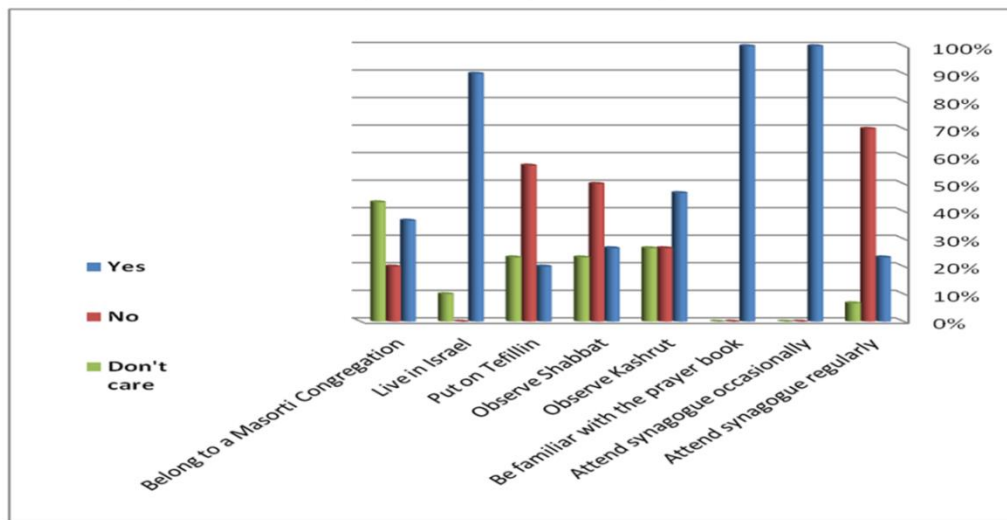
Despite some major differences between Tal and Leah's religious practices as they stand today - Leah is a rabbi and Tal defines herself as almost 'hiloni' - they did share a common desire for their children to have the same sense of ownership over Jewish practice that they had. They acknowledged the role that their parents had played in molding their Jewish-religious skills in this context. Evidently, this was true not only for Leah and Tal. Both first- and second-generation participants had clear - and similar - desires for the character of their children's habitus as regards Jewish practice.

The habitus of the first generation had mainly been formed in their land of origin. It continued to develop as they struggled to adjust to their new environment, with its new field. The habitus of the second generation was different in this respect. The variety in religious and other lifestyle choices found within the second generation was in less correspondence with traditional halacha than their parents' had been, although the importance of the maintenance religious practice, particularly for their children, was unequivocal for them. In that regard - the schemata had been successfully transmitted.

As for the survey group, the importance of the maintenance of the Masorti, or semi-Masorti lifestyle, suggested by Graph 6 (see above, p. 158), is substantially reinforced by respondents' answers to the subsequent question, shown in Graph 7: "What practices is it important to you that your children observe?"

Graph 7

What practices is it important to you that your children observe?



The results indicate that a significant majority of second-generation respondents were interested in having their children maintain a Masorti lifestyle: They would not necessarily have them attend synagogue regularly, but certainly occasionally. Their children should not necessarily observe Shabbat, but should be familiar with the prayer book and certainly should observe, or try to observe, the laws of kashrut.

6.5 The English Language as Symbolic Capital

Although it was not related in a direct way to their religiosity, a further important finding emerged regarding the special role of English proficiency in both generational groups' symbolic capital. For Bourdieu (1991), symbolic capital and power are related. Symbolic capital constitutes credentials of cultural competence, which provide the bearer with a better position in relation to power, and it derives from certificates, licenses, degrees and titles which create status, prestige, and authority (Bourdieu, 1986).

From first-generation interviews it emerged that these participants had not had much symbolic capital that they could rely on, especially as regarded religious legitimacy. The rabbis among them had been ordained in one of the most prestigious rabbinic seminaries of the time (the Jewish Theological Seminary of the Masorti movement), but were not formally recognized as rabbis by the State of Israel, nor generally accepted by the Israeli Jewish public. Their ordination did not seem to carry any capital, symbolic or otherwise. Even when they were active in Masorti congregations in Israel - on a voluntary or part-time paid basis - their status and authority in this context would be

significantly lesser than what they had been before aliyah, where such involvement was on a full-time, well-paid basis. However, it would appear that they had brought with them from North America another symbolic asset that did garner appreciation in Israel - proficiency in the English language. As a widely used international, academic and business language, English turned out to carry great weight in Israel. Therefore, while their limited aptitude for Hebrew was an obstacle, first-generation participants found themselves with an inherent advantage over immigrants from other countries who spoke, along with broken Hebrew, languages considered less prestigious, such as French, Arabic, or Russian. Doors were thus opened to native English-speakers more quickly than to immigrants with other accents and from other backgrounds.

We made sure to speak English with the children. Hebrew, we knew, they would learn in the neighbourhood and at school, but we wanted them to speak English well, to speak it as a native tongue. It was partly down to us not wanting to give up this asset, the English language, but also because in Israel English has a special status. It's not one of the official languages, but a person with good proficiency in it is specially appreciated by many. If he speaks English this well, he must be a man of the world, or just a pretty well-educated guy. . . . So why not? If we had this asset, it made sense to give it to them too. At least to try to do so (Ron, 1st gen).

Thus, English would come to serve as symbolic capital for second-generation participants as well. They fully understood it because it was spoken at home, and all spoke with little, if any, accent. They recognized the value of this asset and would utilize English in social, school or community settings when necessary, being fully bilingual. Symbolic capital, therefore, can be identified in the English proficiency of both the first and the second generation of Masorti immigrant participants.

Summary:

Bourdieuian concepts have provided a valuable framework in which to describe and understand the dynamics involved in religious practices. The degree of halachic observance in the religious practice of the second-generation participants was consistently found to be lower than that of the first generation. Their synagogue attendance was minimal, their kashrut observance less adherent to tradition, and the same was true of their Shabbat observance. One domain of religious practice held in common was the very act of living in Israel. Additionally, the two generation groups shared a commitment to educate their children towards Jewish literacy.

The differences in religious practice between the two generation groups were thus found to be quite pronounced. The fact that first-generation participants' efforts to transmit their habitus to their children was mirrored, in the second-generation group's conduct - despite their lower levels of halachic observance - in a commitment to transmit this same habitus to their own children, is an important exception in this sense.

Chapter 7

The Bourdieusian Conceptualization: Discussion

This chapter attempts a more integrative consideration of both religious outlook and religious practice, through the Bourdieusian concepts of capital, field, habitus and doxa. Its purpose is to provide an integrated analysis of both religious outlook and religious practice, relying for this on the central Bourdieusian concepts, so as to engage with the research question in a more direct way.

7.1 Social Capital Between Generations: Community's Changing Role

Bourdieu (1986) speaks of three types of capital - social, cultural, and symbolic. He describes capital as serving as one of the chief mechanisms accounting for social dynamics. I have already discussed how first-generation participants' experience upon arrival in Israel may be conceptualized as a compromising of their social capital. I have described how, in their home countries, they had derived significant social capital as members, sometimes indeed in leadership capacities, of their various congregations, and how in Israel, as immigrants, this capital was lost. Being unable to fit into Orthodox congregations based in religious outlook and practice different from theirs, they had had to either make compromises regarding their capital or to find ways of regaining it. Ultimately, however, as described by the participants, they did not relinquish this capital, but instead established what is known today as the Masorti movement in Israel, with its various congregations. Further, recognizing that their children would not otherwise acquire what Bourdieu would conceptualize as the social capital relevant to their religious outlook, they established for these purposes the NOAM youth movement.

These new congregations, which first-generation participants had invested great energy in building, had provided them social capital that would enrich their lives on multiple levels - as individuals, as professionals, and as parents. By creating something new, with peers of a similar background, the group solidified and drew social dividends from their increased confidence and feelings of comfort in the new setting. This co-operation created closeness, intimacy and security, to such an extent that it would come to

effectively replace, according to their accounts, what may be understood as the social capital that their extended families had provided back home. They had thus created not only a religiously-based congregation, but also a social network based on reciprocity and mutual trust.

Second-generation participants had been born into these congregations, where their parents' needs, in terms of social capital, had largely been met. Their own needs had been met too, to some extent, but not fully. They spoke of feeling, when within the framework of the congregation, in the company of other second-generation members, a sense that they were connected, strong and secure. In school (in cases where they did not go to TALI) or in the neighborhood, this was apparently no longer the case. There, they would sometimes feel discomfort, as children of immigrants possessing a Masorti religious outlook. NOAM provided a nest - a comfort zone - where participants spoke of having been able to experience and exploit the potential for suitable social capital, so to speak, in an environment that met their needs. When asked to describe their NOAM experience, participants would often begin their reminiscences with a big smile. It would appear to have formed their own analogue of a community. In their parents' case, it had been the congregation that had supported them and enabled them to regain social capital. For their children's generation, NOAM played an equivalent role. It was there that they felt strong association and affiliation. They had had their familial homes, but NOAM seemed to form something like a second home - a field they knew well and wherein they could expect to feel appreciated.

7.2 Jewish Literacy and Egalitarianism as Cultural Capital

Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu (2004), is predicated on the knowledge and tastes of the individual and of the group to which he or she belongs. It is the pool of resources comprising actions, ways of speech, accent and vocabulary, etiquette and mores, and preferences in clothes, food, hobbies, as well as one's choice of friends (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 20).

As emerging from the historical overview, first-generation participants would have brought along in their immigration what we may speak of as distinct forms of religiously- and otherwise-based cultural capital. In the religious context, this capital relied on more than one hundred years of Masorti Judaism, as originating in Germany

and developing mainly in North America. This involved a strong commitment to religious values with a simultaneous and complementary commitment to an open and flexible interpretation of religious-Jewish law. The first-generation group's cultural capital could be discerned in the high level of Jewish-religious literacy they displayed. They had come with a comprehensive knowledge of Jewish religion and history, gained prior to their immigration through their parents, their childhood congregations and their youth movements.

Interviews with first-generation participants suggested that that cultural capital had been expressed for them when in North America, in a broad base of Jewish knowledge that formed part of their Jewish-religious outlook, as well as in an extensive familiarity with the know-how of religious practice - the specific features of prayers, rituals and other practices. This cultural capital did not prove a valid currency in Israel, upon their immigration, and so they were led to invest efforts towards re-establishing it. This re-establishment could occur only in an environment where such capital would be acknowledged, such as the newly founded Masorti congregations. They had also understood, according to the interviews, that to transmit this capital to their children they would have to dedicate time, energy and financial resources.

Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu (1986), is typically passed down as a legacy, as well as being possible to cultivate through a process of apprenticeship. A conception of the phenomena described in terms of cultural capital would indeed help to account for the apparent relative smoothness of transmission of these aspects from one generation to the other. One striking example of this comparative straightforwardness in transmission is second-generation participants' adoption of the principle of egalitarianism - the assertion that men and women were to be treated equally within Masorti congregational worship. Most first-generation participants spoke of such commitment to egalitarianism as an almost automatic feature of their outlook. Growing up in the 1960s in North America, feminism was felt to be an important value that captured the imagination of an entire generation, and thus slowly grew to become a core value in Masorti Judaism too. Second-generation participants similarly spoke of it as firmly rooted in their own consciousness, because in their youth movement, NOAM, there was no question or debate about it. It was simply something they enjoyed naturally. The commitment to gender equality was thus common to both the first and the second generation groups. It formed cultural capital; habitus transmitted by the first generation to their children.

The origins of this egalitarian commitment may be attributable to the first-generation participants having been young adults, in the US and Canada, in the 1960s, a period during which feminism experienced substantial developments, as described by Mandle (n.d.). They would appear to have incorporated it into their own lives and value systems, and, accordingly, into their religious outlook. The commitment to gender equality in the Masorti movement, a commitment which would become something of a banner in the 1970s and 1980s (and, in fact, to this day), would have been unavoidably influenced by the feminist mood, and the women's liberation movement, which were on the ascendant during the 1960s in North America. First-generation participants were born in the 1940s and 1950s, and would have been young adults - students, for the most part - in the 1960s. The Western world in general, and North America in particular, saw tumultuous and exciting developments during this period, when civil associations arose and acted in many different causes: The sexual revolution, student riots, and civil rights movements. One of the first achievements of second-wave feminism during this period was the establishment of the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, led by Eleanor Roosevelt, in 1961. McKinnon (as described in Barak-Erez, 2005) argues that the impact of this act ultimately extended far beyond the political sphere. The feminist world view, in its interpretation of the status of women in society focused on the political, educational, cultural and economic implications of men and women's relations, would have been pervasive too in Jewish civil society, which, by mid-century, would have already been considerably assimilated into American society.

According to Lau (1978), the Jewish religion is strongly andocentric. In classical Judaism, a prayer was considered a viable 'public prayer' only when conducted in partnership with at least ten men (a minyan); only men were permitted the public cantillation of the Torah scroll; only men were allowed to serve as rabbis. Feminist discourse, however, which had already begun seeping onto the world of the Masorti synagogue, grew more tangible and determined. The protest against the exclusion of women from social loci of power, as well as against cultural conceptions marginalizing women and putting men at center stage, began challenging some of the core concepts of halacha, with a generation of young people - men as well as women - demanding that rabbis engage this problem head on, and find a halachic way to abolish, or at least to reduce, at a preliminary stage, gender discrimination. Such new attitudes became part of the cultural capital brought by first-generation participants upon immigration to Israel.

These would have been present in the synagogue, within the distribution of domestic duties, and in the ways children were educated. It should, thus, come as no surprise, that this value has emerged from the interviews as a characteristic common value.

The transmission of cultural capital was also evidenced in Jewish education and religious literacy. Both generations emphasized the desire for their children to be well-educated in terms of Judaism; to be familiar with the prayer book; to know Jewish customs and practices. First-generation participants spoke of having created NOAM and TALI in order for their children to be able to gain and absorb the cultural capital connected with their Jewish heritage. Second-generation participants spoke of an equivalent desire concerning their own children. They wanted them to possess the same levels of Jewish competence and tools - i.e. cultural capital - that they themselves had received, thanks to their parents' efforts.

Although it is not possible to speak of a transmission between generations per se here, due to the fact that the second-generation participants were not the biological children of the first-generation participants, there are some interesting indications, regarding the practical religious, or halachic, aspects of cultural capital, of certain similarities between both generational groups, though the groups also remain different in important respects. Thus, while the data has shown a comparatively smaller commitment on the second generation group's part to some elements of halacha, especially with regard to the regular attendance of prayer services, the keeping of Shabbat and the observance of kashrut, the vast majority of second-generation participants did, however, fast on Yom Kippur. This suggests that some of the cultural capital - even in the practical aspects of religious observance - was still relevant and meaningful in both generation groups.

7.3 Decreasing Dissonance Between Fields

The pursuit of power, in Bourdieusian thought (2004), forms a focus of activity in the field - which is essentially an arena wherein competition erupts between groups for authority and control over the available forms of capital. The fluid nature of fields was critical to Bourdieu's understanding and treatment of the struggle for power. Bourdieu sees fields as dynamic, with their structure merely reflecting the current balance of power among the players within them. Such a conception of fluidity and malleability of

social organization has some explanatory power in accounting for the reported conduct of first-generation participants.

Upon immigrating to Israel, as described, the first generation had encountered a religious field differently structured from what they had known. The acquisition of power in this new field was not such that might be achieved spontaneously, through a fair give-and-take between competitors, but rather was politically structured and predetermined, as defined by law and monopolized by Orthodox Judaism. The latter's official agents uniformly looked down on Masorti Judaism, and would not grant Masorti institutions power or formal recognition. The religious outlook and practice of the first generation presented a challenge for the official religious authorities - especially the Chief Rabbinate, which was Orthodox-controlled. Bourdieu (1993) sees monopoly within a field - resulting from the dynamic between a hierarchy of forces intrinsic to the field - as a powerful feature of every field. The power and resources placed in the hands of the monopolizing power allows it to constrain the conduct of other players in the field. As immigrants, and even more so as Masorti Jews, first-generation participants had learned that, in Bourdieusian terms, they possessed little power to influence the dynamics of the existing field. They would thus have to essentially change the field, by pushing its boundaries, if they were to improve their situation. They ultimately did so through the creation of new Masorti congregations; autonomous settings where their capital would still carry meaning and value.

As discussed in chapter 3, a central struggle within any field, according to Bourdieu (1993), was that of defining its limits. This conceptualization seems relevant insofar as the Jewish-Orthodox establishment in Israel does seem to have in fact attempted drawing such a line, with Masorti immigrants challenging this demarcation through the activism inherent to their cultural capital in its manifestation as religious outlook. First-generation participants had come from a religious field where there was clear separation of state and religion, as guaranteed by the state's constitution. They had been used to a reality where, if a group wanted to have a religious environment for communal worship and religious life - a church, mosque, synagogue, etc. - it would have to create one, funding it through their own means. Once reconciled, at least temporarily, to the fact that in the Israeli field they would have no choice but to do the same if they wanted their own religious communities, they could still fall back on the *modus operandi* known from their previous religious field. They were thus able to raise the necessary

resources, and they built. In establishing new Masorti congregations, these immigrants had found a way not only to address their religious needs, but also to allay the dissonance between the strong commitment to Zionism characterizing their religious outlook, and the reality of the actual, lived experience of their Zionist dream. Their new homeland's government did not seem to respect their religious belief enough to provide assistance, so they created the infrastructure themselves - Masorti congregations, and institutions both for formal education, in the TALI school network, and informal, in NOAM.

7.4 Doxa, the Permitted and the Forbidden

Bourdieu (1990b) used the word *doxa* to designate the norms and rules dictating the majority's behavior; the road map instructing what is permissible to think, how to act, and what social restrictions are in place. Bourdieu enables us to identify the various powers and actions that dominate society and the individuals comprising it. First-generation participants reported that their Masorti-Jewish outlook and practice had been developed in their pre-aliyah life, in a field we may characterize as possessing a *doxa* which considered them legitimate. The *doxa* of the new religious field the immigrants encountered in Israel, however, clashed with their old one. It appeared to reject the rules and norms which formed part of who they were. Their capital, too, tended to be unappreciated, and often demeaned.

In many respects, the statements of first-generation participants suggest the existence of a natural, intuitive connection to the *doxa* of hiloni Israel. It suited them in many regards, expressing an open lifestyle and a liberal set of values in terms of commitment to democracy, to free press and to good governance. However, as Avineri (1994) has described, many hiloni Jewish Israelis have difficulty seeing non-Orthodox Judaism as legitimate. Thus, it may be speculated that the *doxa* - the naturalized truth - of hiloni Israeli Jews was not reconcilable with the legitimacy of Masorti Judaism. This would not necessarily have been because of any disapproval on the grounds of principle, as we know that there often simply a lack of familiarity or ignorance regarding this religious denomination. In this way *doxa* has remained a source of tension in the field.

7.5 Habitus - Activism as an Internal Grammar

Bourdieu (2004) describes habitus as a built-in set of dispositions, as schemata which create for every group its symbolic capital, in a kind of collective grammar of activities which guides behavior and thinking.

For example, first-generation participants described a habitus that included a set of religious dispositions shaped in their home countries, within a different religious field. This habitus did not change upon arrival in Israel, not because habitus is immutable but because they used it to confront the new field. Bourdieu (2004) describes how one absorbs directives that shape habitus during the socialization process, as well as developing them in response to various social encounters. The NOAM youth movement can be seen as providing examples of this process.

One very important aspect of the habitus brought in by the first generation had to do with two of the more well-known values of Masorti Judaism (as outlined in Golinkin, 1998) - a critical engagement with the Jewish religious canon, and a pluralistic approach towards halacha. Two rabbis could come to contradictory halachic conclusions about a given matter and remain equally appreciated and valid in the eyes of Masorti Jews. An apparent ideological consequence of this approach in terms of religious outlook, in both generations, was the conviction that there was more than one way to be a Jew; that no one person or group had the right to claim his or her Judaism as the sole, ultimate, correct approach to Judaism. The data suggests that this firm belief was, and remains, an essential part of the habitus of both first- and second-generation participants. It had driven, and sometimes energized, first-generation participants to be proactive in dealing with the opposing forces within the new field. This was successfully transmitted to the second generation, as expressed in the way they shaped NOAM over the years

The data indicate that, for the most part, at least with regard to Jewish outlook, second-generation participants still acted according to the worldview characterizing their parents' habitus. In the resistance to the predominant religious values of the Israeli religious field, they were in agreement with their parents. They would also expand elements of the habitus they had received from their parents; most became social activists like their parents, in the domains of democracy, human rights and other similar concerns, but they expressed this in new, disparate ways. Evidence of this would come up in the interviews, sometimes directly, but often not. Sarit, for example, incidentally mentioned her involvement in organizing Arab-Jewish dialogue groups. The presence of

a liberal spirit, progressive and pluralistic thinking, was palpable during the interviews. It was manifested in objects of symbolic capital - the newspaper lying on the table (*Haaretz*¹⁴); books on the shelves, when the interview took place in the person's home - as well as in the many subtle features that would come up randomly in the small talk before and after the interview. Sometimes it could be seen in the short pauses; for example, after the news was heard in the background (in Israel the news is heard at half-hour intervals on all of the major radio stations), and an item from the news became a part of the conversation. Sometimes it was enough to notice a look; a raised eyebrow - body language that hinted at an unease at certain triggers that would place the speaker within the liberal camp in Israeli political discourse.

If habitus is the basis for recognizing one's reality, and is thus the cause of one's actions, as Bourdieu (2004) suggests, the first generation of Masorti Jewish immigrants in Israel, as a whole, may be considered successful in its attempts at the transmission of its habitus. The data indicates that second-generation participants had inherited their parents' habitus; not only in their commitment to activism, but also in the way they defined their own religiosity. When it came down to self-definition, the vast majority of second generation participants defined themselves as Masorti -not Orthodox, not Reform, and not hiloni. However, despite this commonality of religious self-definition with their parents, they did not generally have similar forms of religious outlook and religious practice.

Moreover, the data suggests that, in both education and occupation, additional dimensions of habitus had been transmitted. Most second-generation participants, both in the interviews and in response to the questionnaire, expressed a desire for their children - whether they already had them or not - to be raised as they had been, with the same attention to Masorti Jewish religious literacy, and the same level of experience of Jewish practice. With regard to occupation, it is noteworthy that many second-generation participants had chosen professions with a built-in mode of social activism. It would seem to imply, in Bourdieusian terms, that their habitus continued to reflect Masorti values and outlook.

¹⁴ *Haaretz* is considered Israel's most liberal newspaper

But the habitus had been somewhat transformed in its transmission. Overall the study indicated that second-generation participants had absorbed more of the religious outlook of their parents than of their religious practice. Despite almost all of them fasting on Yom Kippur, their habitus included a weaker commitment to Jewish law, with them attending synagogue services substantially less, and many of them not observing Shabbat the way that their parents had.

Summary:

Bourdieuian concepts have offered this study a theoretical lexicon for the conceptualization of the similarities and differences between the two generations and the dynamics of intergenerational transmission. They also served as a tool to facilitate the exploration of power relations within the religious field in Israel in general. This chapter has shown how social capital, provided by community institutions, was expressed through congregations for the first generation and through NOAM for the second. Cultural capital, for its part, was articulated in the commitment to Jewish literacy and egalitarianism. English language proficiency played a role as symbolic capital for both generations. Each generation reacted differently to the religious field in Israel and to its doxa, but activism remained common to both groups' habitus.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

This chapter presents the conclusions gleaned from the Bourdieusian analysis of the data gathered in this study on religious outlook and practice and the answers to the research questions, the study's potential contribution to sociological knowledge and to the Masorti movement in Israel, and those issues relevant to the conduct of research as an insider researcher. It ends with offering retrospective insights about the ways the study could have been improved, and suggestions for future research.

The findings have generally indicated that first-generation participants have attempted to maintain the religious outlook and practice with which they had come to Israel, while second-generation participants displayed a reduced commitment to Jewish law and to religious-communal structures. However, both generations shared a strong commitment to Jewish activism, as an expression of their religious outlook. Although this outlook was expressed in different ways, it remained relevant to both generational groups.

8.1 Religious Outlook and Practices of Two Generations of Masorti Jewry in Israel

Masorti Judaism had originated in Germany, was developed in North America following its wave of European immigration in the late 19th century, and therein had flourished during the 1950s and 1960s. The outlook of Masorti Judaism is based on a reconciliation of tradition and change, combined with strong commitment to the principles of halacha. In its adaptation of Judaism to modernity, it demonstrates a liberal approach to the interpretation of Jewish law, as well as a commitment to gender-equality.

Zionism had always taken a central place in the Masorti outlook, and with the founding of the State of Israel, this increased yet further. In 1967, following the Six-Day War, thousands of North-American Masorti Jews fulfilled their Zionist ideology and immigrated to Israel, or made aliyah. Their arrival would lead to the establishment of Masorti congregations and the Masorti movement itself in Israel.

Entry into the new society had been challenging for these new immigrants. Most difficult was the clash between what they were accustomed to as Jewish life - those aspects of outlook and practice that they had grown up on and which were essential to their Jewish identity - and the Jewish outlook and practice common in Israel. They had been raised, and lived by, the standards of Masorti Judaism, which was, at the time, the dominant stream of Judaism in North America. Being Jewish in the country they had recently left behind would have meant, in most cases, being part of a large Masorti synagogue that was well known, well appreciated, and of considerable stature in both the Jewish and the larger national community. Ironically, in Israel, the Jewish State, this stature disappeared. Even worse, they now felt themselves to be looked down upon.

First-generation Masorti immigrants in Israel encountered a religious field monopolized by Orthodox Judaism. This was a religious field with a doxa different from the one that felt natural to them. It was a field that rejected their Jewish beliefs, that was hostile to their Jewish customs, and that refused to share resources and power. This rejection of their religious outlook and practice had pushed them to resist the conditions of the field and to try and expand its boundaries.

8.1.1 The Research Questions Revisited

The first of the research questions I had set out to answer focused on intergenerational differences in religious outlook and practice: In what ways do the first and second generational groups of Masorti Jewish immigration in Israel differ in their religious outlook and practices? As emerging from the findings, a substantial amount of the first generation's religious outlook as well as a certain amount of their religious practice had remained very relevant in both generational groups. In fact, the findings suggest a surprisingly extensive intergenerational transmission as far as religious outlook is concerned. Many among the latter would define themselves as Masorti Jews, as opposed to Reform, Orthodox or hiloni. The majority of them reported feelings of pride in their Jewish identity, especially those aspects of it that related their tradition to egalitarianism and to democratic and liberal values. The habitus of their parents was most vividly felt in second-generation respondents' habitus in their approach to the education of their own children. The vast majority among the second generation wanted their children to be raised as they had been, with a high level of religious literacy and

with adequate experience of Jewish practice. The data also suggests similarities in the role of activism in the religious outlook of both generations. It was found to have formed part of the habitus of both.

With regard to religious practice, the findings suggest, in the context of this study, a greater degree of difference between the generations. The vast majority of second-generation respondents did not belong to Masorti congregations. When they went it would generally be to a Masorti synagogue, but they would not enroll as members. Their synagogue attendance itself was much lower than their parents' was, as was their general level of religious observance. Almost none observed the Shabbat in a halachic way; almost half did not keep kashrut. One particular aspect of religious practice which was considered normative and binding by all participants of the second generation was the act of fasting on Yom Kippur. It thus formed almost a standalone religious practice, in being transmitted in full from generation to generation.

The second research question had to do with the appropriate way of accounting for the differences between the two generations: How can the cross-generational differences in religious outlook and practice be accounted for? I believe that this can be explained, in Bourdieusian terms, both by the changes within the field and by the nature of the second generation group's capital, which came to be very different from that of their parents. As born-and-raised Israelis, fluent speakers of unaccented Hebrew, they did not suffer the same level of exclusion as their parents had. Despite the fact of their religious outlook and practice not being generally accepted, and their constituting a minority, together with their parents, in that regard, they had access to other social circles, which enabled them to narrow the distance from the Israeli mainstream. Particularly important in this respect was NOAM, where they would meet with their peers and experience their Judaism in a safe, protected Masorti environment. They were also full members in other general Israeli fields - school (when they did not go to TALI), the neighborhood, and, when they came of age, the obligatory army service. The combination of all these factors resulted in the second generation's achieving greater social acceptance, and enjoying social capital much more easily than their parents had. This resulted in their having a much less urgent need to congregate and practice their Judaism together than their parents had had. They thus inherited their parents' habitus in variety of ways when it came to Jewish beliefs and values, while rejecting many of the traditional practical expressions of Masorti Judaism.

The third question had to do with the ultimate suitability of Bourdieusian theory for the phenomena under consideration: How does a Bourdieusian analysis illuminate the processes by which religious outlook and practices are sustained and transmitted? This study addresses a complex web of variables of ideological outlook and practice within an intergenerational frame. The analysis of the data has required an approach allowing for an integration of the phenomena; a holistic method to ground the findings within an overarching understanding. I have chosen Bourdieusian theory because it offers an approach that allows for interpretation of intergenerational transmission across a wide range of areas of Jewish life, as well as of conflicts and tensions between different social actors (Grenfell, 2004). It has enabled a dual focus on intergenerational and intra-Israeli dynamics.

I follow May (2009, p. 42) in seeing the central theme in Bourdieu's work as "the interrelationship between the individual and the collective"; i.e., between structures and agents, in their influence upon each other and in their divergences. The interaction between the first and second generations of Masorti immigrants, and their relationships with the field in which they operated, were at the center of this study. Therefore, Bourdieu's attention to the dynamic relationship between society and societal development made him a good fit for the research questions.

One of the central conflicts had emerged in the initial encounter between the first generation of immigrants and the religious field in the new country. In Bourdieusian terms, the habitus of the Masorti Jews had been rejected by the doxa of the religious field in Israel. Their capital - cultural as well as symbolic - was stripped of value. They were able, however, to regain their social capital through a concerted effort, coming together and building communal congregations tailored to their own religious needs

The holistic approach of Bourdieu is further illustrated in his emphasis on the role of power in society. The identification of power relations within the field was essential, to Bourdieu, for the understanding of the dynamics of hierarchy, competition (or lack thereof) and inequality between agents operating in a given society. Power relations, in the context of this study, are prominently seen in the differences between Orthodox Judaism, possessing a monopoly over official religious services and resources, and non-Orthodox Judaism; orthodoxy and heterodoxy operating in the Israeli religious field.

Bourdieuian concepts have provided a terminology with which to conceptualize, analyze and integrate the data. Bourdieu has provided me with a vocabulary useful for the treatment of many of the emerging themes: Social capital for the role Masorti congregations have played; religious literacy and egalitarianism as cultural capital; English language proficiency as symbolic capital; doxa and the decreasing dissonance between fields; and habitus as internal grammar. With Bourdieu's terminology, concepts and models, this study was able to create a 'holistic amalgam' (Algazi, 2002) which has served as a basis for an analysis of the intergenerational transmission examined.

8.2 Contribution to Knowledge - Religiously Motivated Migration to Israel

This study presents an analysis, in Bourdieusian terms, of similarities and differences in religious outlook and practice between groups drawn from the first and second generations of Masorti Jews in Israel. It has formed a small-scale study, primarily qualitative in its approach. It has been chiefly concerned with the comparison of two generations of Israeli Masorti Jews' religious outlook and religious practice, from which it has concluded that among the study population, religious outlook has largely survived the intergenerational transition, whereas religious practice has not been retained to the same extent. One central element of religious practice that has, nonetheless, been transmitted, is the commitment to activism and to *tikun olam*. There has also emerged from the findings a highly significant distinction between the attitudes of both generational group as regards religious practice, in that second-generation participants were seen to be less committed to observance of the *halacha*, and less committed to formal belonging in a Masorti congregation. The examination of religion and migration, within the limits of this study, has thus led to new insights regarding the intergenerational transmission of religious outlook and practices between the first and the second generations of Masorti immigrants in Israel.

In the context of the Bourdieusian analysis of immigrants' experiences, Bramadat's research (2005) shows how dismissive attitudes to religious outlook and practice, particularly when directed at immigrants, risk leading to extreme, dangerous reactions of violence or terrorism. The current study has shown that devaluation of migrants'

capital can cause reactions not of violence, but rather of activism for social change. This study's findings generally accord with Lerner's, in her Bourdieu-informed research (2013) of Russian immigrants' adjustment to life in Israel, in showing how habitus may serve as a catalyst for advancement in the adaptation process. In the current case this may be seen in the activist and voluntaristic aspects of the first-generation participants' habitus, which had helped them create new religious congregations that in turn assisted them in attaining cultural capital in the new field.

The social dynamics of the second generation, in particular, have evidenced similarities to the findings of Prieto, Sagafi-nejad and Janamanchi (2013). Their research describes changes in the habitus and social capital of immigrants in the process of their adaptation to their new home. In the current study, changes in habitus and capital rarely emerged from first-generation reports, but were frequently reflected in those of the second. By virtue of having grown up in Israel, albeit to immigrant parents, they appear to have been less affected by the dissonance between their religious outlook and the realities obtaining in the religious field than their parents had been. Their parents' influence on second generation participants' outlook was not only admitted by them but also very positively evaluated. However, as mentioned earlier, and in contrast to the findings of Brañas-Garza and Neuman (2006) on the intergenerational transmission of Catholic religious practice in Spain, the parental influence of the first generation on the second had not resulted in a level of religious practice equivalent to that of their parents. Their religious outlook, on the other hand, was similar to that of their parents in many ways.

8.3 Possible Implications of this Study for the Masorti

Movement in Israel

The Masorti movement's leadership - its chairman and board of directors - are aware of the research that I have been conducting. They have expressed gratification with the fact that I have picked this topic to focus on, and I expect that they are waiting to read the research when it is completed. During my years of working on this study, they have asked several times about my findings. This was not merely out of intellectual curiosity; it has had to do with the genuine concern shared by many people involved in leadership positions in Masorti congregations throughout Israel, as well as in the national organization, about there being few young families in the more early-established

Masorti congregations in Israel today. The second generation, children of the generation that had established the movement and its congregations, appears not to be an active participant in the institution that their parents had so determinedly fought to found.

Hence, the ramifications of this study, a small-scale study conducted on intergenerational transmission between the two generations of Masorti Jews in Israel, might be very practical. Owing to the monopoly of Orthodox Judaism on religious services in Israel, the Masorti movement receives very little public funding from the government. Despite this, it possesses a considerable budget, mostly raised by donations, that is annually allocated to various programs, activities and projects. The majority of this budget has, heretofore, been invested in what have become the two main pillars of the movement's activities - the nationwide congregations and NOAM. If, in fact, it has been compellingly demonstrated that NOAM, while fulfilling its goal with regard to the shaping of a Masorti religious outlook for its participants, has not been particularly effective in achieving the same goals with regard to religious practice, this needs to be addressed in the movement's policy. It might, for instance, lead to the allocation of more resources to NOAM, increasing its associated number of educational and rabbinic programs as well as deepening their subject matter. Conversely, the findings might lead to the opposite conclusions. If NOAM, with its current dynamics, cannot be expected to provide the avenue for the expansion of Masorti congregations in Israel, the vast resources invested in NOAM over the decades might need to have the assumption of their efficacy reexamined.

With regard to the existing Masorti congregations in Israel, the findings suggest that their engagement with the social and spiritual needs of second-generation Masorti immigrants has been lacking. The latter's low level of involvement apparently did not stem from their loss of religious faith nor from a rejection of the Masorti outlook. Many still defined themselves as Masorti Jews. The implication seems to be that existing Masorti congregations in Israel might need to reshape their *modus operandi* to take full advantage of the potential for identification and involvement by this generation. If prayers have become less relevant to the younger generation, but social justice remains a high priority, the congregations' annual agendas ought to reflect this change, in the interest of expansion. Such decisions on the local level would have an effect, to be sure, on policies on the national level as well.

It will inevitably take some time for the changes described here to be implemented. The Masorti movement's leadership will have to engage in intense strategic thinking, and I can give my assurance that among the material present on the discussion-table will be this study. I would hope that it might serve as a profitable pool of data, knowledge and theoretical thinking for the movement in its attempts to develop a suitable strategic plan.

8.4 Insider Research - Challenges and Reflections

The current section describes the issues involved with my professional position and personal stake in the subject matter of Masorti religiosity, and reflections on my attempts to resolve them, as well as recapitulating some of the inherent advantages of the conduct of insider research.

The reality of researching two generations of Masorti Jews in Israel, while serving as the director general of the Masorti movement in Israel, has put me in a challenging position as a researcher. From an academic perspective, this has risked the compromise of my commitment to academic rigor. I feel that ultimately I have succeeded in meeting this challenge, but it has been a formidable task, because of the need to maintain awareness of the fact that, despite my very much wishing for the Masorti movement to succeed in Israel, there was a need for myself to ensure that this desire will not overwhelm the interviews, nor color my attempts to analyze the vast amounts of data collected – instead allowing these to be understood on their own terms, as distinct from my ideological preferences and my desire to influence Israeli society by enlarging the role of Masorti Judaism within it. I thus had to repeatedly remind myself, at each stage of the research, to take as much care as possible to maintain rigor and reflexivity. I also endeavored to make it clear, at the beginning and end of each interview, that the research was for academic purposes. In this context it is worth noting that, while the Masorti movement's agenda played an important role in motivating the study, the study itself remained academic in its purposes. In retrospect, it would have been better to inform interviewees that, though the study was to be academic, standing by the relevant rules of anonymity and academic rigor, the study's conclusions would potentially influence the movement's policy in the future. This would have guaranteed that interviewees' consent to participating in the study was more fully informed, in that they would also have been made aware of its goals (Brooks et al., 2014, pp. 85-104).

Whenever I felt, as I did at times, that an issue coming up during an interview could have a direct relation to my professional position, I would try to keep this in the foreground of my mind, hoping to avoid a situation where my reaction to what was being said would determine the next sentence spoken by the interviewee. This extended an attempted control of non-verbal communication, as well, in avoiding looking up or raising my eyebrows in a way that would signify satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what was being said. I noted such occurrences of potential value-judgments or expressions of discontentment, on my part, in my research diary, so as to try and maintain my awareness of them. I also made sure, in order to draw a line between my professional position and the academic research that I was conducting, to emphasize at the beginning of each interview that I was on my day off; that this was not a regular working day but rather a day dedicated to learning. I believe that this has helped.

In retrospect, despite feeling that for the most part this rigor was maintained, I also feel that it would have been better if I had avoided speaking with interviewees with whom my acquaintance was more than superficial. In most interviewees' cases, the acquaintance was entirely superficial, but because in some cases it was slightly greater, this would seem in retrospect to have presented a preventable challenge. With an acquaintance that was more than superficial, my ability to distance my role as a researcher from my role as an involved player in the Masorti experience in Israel naturally became more difficult.

Being an insider researcher has also provided advantages, from a research point of view. With an outsider researcher, interviewees might have played a role, representing what in their eyes was expected from a Masorti Jew's outlook. While to some extent this would also be true for me, as an interviewer who could also be seen as a representative of the Masorti establishment (though I was not explicitly conducting interviews in this role), because of constraints structured into my research work, my insider role as an interviewer could retain the advantages of a more nuanced, subtler understanding. There was still the risk of interviewees thinking I wanted them to think things that they did not think, but overall, I feel that facing me, as an insider, the pressure of responding to an interviewer's imagined expectations or criteria of value judgments was comparatively weaker than it would have been facing a more typical interviewer. My impression was that the issue of intimidation in the face of authority, or of the unequal power relationship between the interviewees and me, did not ultimately color the dynamic of

the conversation to a significant extent. The intimate familiarity; the fact that I formed part of the participants' reference group; the increased awareness to sensitivities and nuances, was, I believe, an advantage in this respect. As Dwyer and Buckle (2009) have shown, insider researchers are often faster in being accepted, with participants opening up to them more easily.

8.5 Final Reflections and Limitations?

Looking back, I believe that this study has given satisfactory answers to the research questions, but these answers cannot be said to be perfect or complete. If I were to conduct this study again, I would perhaps enlarge the sample group. While qualitative research does not typically involve very large samples, I think the study would have benefitted from an interview with another 4 or 5 members of the first generation, with a complementary, equal addition of participants to the second-generation group. This would have entailed considerable investment, especially of time, so was not feasible for the current study, with the resources available to me, but a plurality of voices, chiefly from the second generation, where diversity was a strong characteristic, would have enabled me, I think, to gain greater depth of analysis.

A further aspect of this study where I might, in retrospect, have acted differently is in the utilization of questionnaires. While conducting the research I made the conscious, deliberate decision, as I have described, to add a quantitative element to my work, sending questionnaires to 30 members of the second generation of Masorti immigrants in Israel. These questionnaires provided me with very valuable information, especially as regards the practical aspects of this generation's Jewish religiosity, and provided a complement as well as a validation to the data gathered in the interviews. Therefore, it seems like I might have benefitted from an analogous research complement with regard to the first generation. The questionnaires proved valuable in the data they provided on the second generation, and while I had not assumed such methods would be significant in investigating the first generation, which appears more homogenous in its patterns of practical manifestations of Jewish religiosity, the study would surely have been reinforced by them. What is more, the resultant symmetry in the manner and scope of data gathering between the two generations would have given the study, even if only on a symbolic, representational level, a more balanced character, and minimized its vulnerability to being criticized as operating under insufficiently challenged prejudices.

The conclusions of this study might have been built on or refined by the conduct of a concurrent (or future) study, perhaps of a smaller scope, comparing two generations of a second religious or ideological group active in Israel. One such example could be a study of two generations in the *Bnei Akiva* movement, a Modern Orthodox religious movement - Zionist like the Masorti movement, but without its liberal orientation. Another candidate would be a study on two generations of the *HaShomer HaTzair* movement, a strongly ideological, secularist-socialist movement, which also seems to have undergone significant transformations in its transmission between generations. This could provide additional, contrasting perspectives on religious outlook, and thereby broaden sociological knowledge of the phenomenon of cross-generational ideological transformation. This group could include immigrants arriving from the same background as the first generation of Masorti practitioners in Israel - as middle-class, educated people immigrating for reasons of Zionism - but not belonging to the Masorti denomination, and a complementary group from a second such generations, the children, as it were (in a metaphorical, generational rather than biological sense) of these contemporaneous immigrants. It would be interesting to consider the dynamics of intergenerational transmission as suggested by insights regarding these other groups, against the processes investigated in the current study.

Another aspect which might have been pursued is narrative inquiry. In Ricoeur's conceptual framework of narrative identity, personal narratives are understood as bringing together the narrators' protagonist "characters" and their actions across time. This occurs through the process of *emplotment* - the selective organization of disparate events into a narrative, in a way that confers upon them a sense of inevitability, meaning, and ultimately personal identity (Ricoeur, 1992; Lawler, 2014, pp. 23-44). Narrative inquiry in this spirit, as utilized by numerous scholars (see Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007; Alasuutari, 1997) focuses on both personal and collective identity, and as such would seem promising for the subject under consideration in this study - personal religious identity in the context of a religious community. Ewick and Silbey (1995) highlight how, in recent research, narrative descriptions, despite their notable hegemonic, repressive capacity, have been reclaimed for the benefits of acknowledging the place narrative has had for social agents, as well as for their benefits in upsetting regular power relations. They argue that these two functions are related, in that acknowledging that there are multiple existing stories or "truths" rather than the

implicitly solitary hegemonic one, is both couched in analytical rejection of a single, unconditioned truth, and committed to undermining it and its effects of inequality in society (Lawler, 2014, 198-199). Thus, narrative inquiry would seem particularly suited to investigating the dialectic between the collectivity and the individual, between hegemony and subversion.

It would be crucial, however, to exercise sufficient rigour in performing this form of analysis. Spector-Mersel (2010) offers compelling guidance in this context, in her insistence that rigorous narrative inquiry would necessitate a multidimensional and interdisciplinary approach; the consideration of each narrative as a whole unit; an analysis of both form and content; and a consideration of the context in which the story is narrated. Thus, while narrative inquiry would quite possibly be capable of furnishing the basis for a complementary study on Masorti Jewish identity, it seems better suited to more individually-focused forms of research. The purposes of my own study required a bird's-eye view, of a kind that would allow for the casting of a broader net without the risk of compromising its analytical rigour and ending up with a superficial account, that would not meet the suitable standards for narrative inquiry.

This study has also suggested new avenues for the investigation of the functioning of the field. In contrast to Rey's characterization (2014) of the field as being effectively defined by its players, it would appear that the religious field in Israel was not defined exclusively by the religious players within it, with a very significant factor in this field being, rather, the institutions of government. I would propose the conduct of an investigation into the way in which a state's law, functioning as an external factor, may serve to define the rules, and so determine the doxa within a field, in explaining comparable social dynamics. Similarly, Streib's (2008) proposition that the dynamics of a religious field could lead to its expansion, in adding new players who may even influence the field at large, might warrant revisiting, after the findings of the current study, which seem to indicate that such did an openness to such new players did not exist in the Israeli field.

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Appendix A: Open, Semi-structured Interview

General Questions:

Year of birth

Country of birth

Country you spent your childhood

Were your parents member of a Masorti congregation (if yes, where)

Are you a member of a Masorti congregation (if yes, where. If not, do you belong to another congregation)

The congregation I was raised at was for me....

The congregation I am a member of today is for me...

Do you think your children followed your Jewish choices

Religious Outlook:

How do you define yourself Jewishly

Do you believe in God

Religious Practice:

How often do you attend synagogue services

Do you put on tefillin

Do you keep kashrut

Do you observe the Shabbat

Do you use electricity on Shabbat

Do you drive on Shabbat

Is it important for you that your children/grandchildren:

Will attend synagogue services regularly

Will attend synagogue services occasionally

Will belong to a Masorti synagogue

Will be familiar with the siddur

Will keep kashrut

Will observe the Shabbat

Will put on tefillin

Will live in Israel

Appendix B: Questionnaire

[As translated into English]:

This questionnaire is part of a study that aims to examine different elements of Jewish outlook and practices within the first and second generations of the Masorti movement in Israel. The questionnaire is anonymous and its findings will be used for research purposes only.

Year of birth _____

Country of birth _____

Country/ies I spent my childhood in _____

Year of immigration to Israel (if applicable) _____

My parents were/are members of a Masorti congregation (circle) Yes / No

The congregation I was raised in was for me...

I am members of a Masorti congregation (circle) Yes / No

If yes, which one _____

If not, do you belong to another congregation? Yes (circle: Ortho'/Reform/Secular) / No

The congregation I am a member of today is for me...

I attend synagogue services (circle)

Daily Weekly Monthly A few times a year On Yom Never
Kippur

I put on tefillin (circle)

Daily Occasionally Never

I keep kosher (circle)

Yes No I try I'm indifferent to the subject

I observe the Shabbat (circle)

Yes No I try I'm indifferent to the subject

I use electricity on Shabbat (circle)

Yes No I try I'm indifferent to the subject

I drive on Shabbat (circle)

Yes No I try I'm indifferent to the subject

I fast on Yom Kippur (circle)

Yes No I try I'm indifferent to the subject

How do you define yourself Jewishly?

Orthodox Masorti- Reform Secular Other
 Conservative _____

Do you believe in God?

Yes No I'm indifferent to the subject Other: _____

It is important for me that my children (circle)

Will attend synagogue services regularly	Yes	No	Don't care
Will attend synagogue services occasionally	Yes	No	Don't care
Will be familiar with the siddur	Yes	No	Don't care
Will keep kosher	Yes	No	Don't care
Will observe the Shabbat	Yes	No	Don't care
Will put on tefillin	Yes	No	Don't care
Will live in Israel	Yes	No	Don't care
Will belong to a Masorti congregation	Yes	No	Don't care

Date _____

Appendix C: NOAM Mission Statements

Statement of 1979:

The NOAM youth movement is part and parcel of the Masorti movement in Israel and tries to satisfy the spiritual, cultural and social needs of youth;

The Masorti youth movement represents a different approach in that it is open to all youth irrespective of family background, school in which they study or any other aspect of background;

The Masorti youth movement recognizes different approaches to Judaism, and does not regard Judaism in a narrow manner

For us, Judaism is an historical, cultural and spiritual experience common to all the Jewish people, and is focused and rooted in the land of Israel. By bringing youth closer to the sources, we try to inculcate them with a love for Judaism, and in this way, we hope they will become active partners in our communities, and will develop sensitivity to Jewish tradition and values;

The (Masorti) movement regards the synagogue as the central communal institution whose role it is to develop the spiritual life of its members; accordingly, the Masorti youth movement is fundamentally connected to the synagogue and the lifestyle anchored within it;

Although we believe in pluralism, we feel that our particular approach represents a Jewish creation, in the twentieth century, within the framework of halacha (Jewish law), which changes and evolves, but nevertheless obligates;

In practice, our activities will not profane elementary Jewish values in regard to relations between man and God or man and man; but will introduce modern expressions of youth and of the general society;

We would like to direct the youth in being "Jews of resurrection", meaning they will have a broad education, both general and Jewish, whereby the values of Jewish tradition will help them to decide and shape their behavior in the modern world;

The members of the youth movement will learn to understand and to appreciate their connections to the land of Israel, the Jewish people and the Torah and will be able to make a contribution to the development of an ideal Israeli society;

Statement of 2009:

NOAM is the youth movement of the Masorti movement which provides a social framework of informal educational process for children and teenagers;

We cultivate youth leadership and involvement in the Masorti movement and in society;

NOAM members contribute to society and culture in order to make the world better a better place (Tikun Olam) and to promote social justice in Israel;

NOAM is a community which lives a Masorti Jewish life

We encourage the process of clarification and crystallization of a multifaceted Jewish identity relevant today; which bridges between Israeliness and the traditions of our ancient mothers and fathers;

We work to deepen the Jewish connection through open dialogue, serious learning and meaningful experience while maintaining a pluralistic and respectful approach;

NOAM members are members of the Masorti movement and its congregations and partners to their growth;

We are part of the struggle for recognition of the right of all Jews to practice Judaism according to his beliefs ;

We work toward the realization of the values of the movement: Zionism; love of Israel; meaningful service in the Israel Defense Forces; immigrant absorption; solidarity and cooperation with world Jewry; preservation of nature and the environment; pluralism; preservation of human dignity and gender equality;

NOAM members come from all backgrounds and groups in Israeli society; all

NOAM activities take place in a climate of respect, equality, challenge and enablement and in a setting accessible to every individual, including those with special needs.

Appendix D: Ethics Committee Certificate of Approval



Social Sciences Cluster-based Research Ethics Committee CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

Reference Number:	2010/11/2
School:	ESW
Title of Project	Masorti Jewishness, Identity, and Change: Generational Difference in the Masorti (Conservative) Jewish Movement in Israel
Principal Investigator:	Yishar HESS
Name of Supervisor: (for student projects)	Prof C Wiese & Prof V Hey
Expected Start Date:*	January 2011

This project has been given ethical approval by the Social Sciences Cluster-based Research Ethics Committee (C-REC).

*NB. If the actual project start date is delayed beyond 12 months of the expected start date, this Certificate of Approval will lapse and the project will need to be reviewed again to take account of changed circumstances such as legislation, sponsor requirements and University procedures.

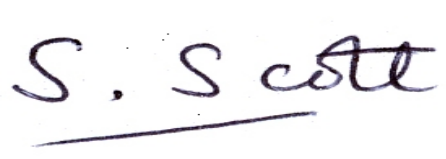
Please note the following requirements for approved submissions:

Amendments to research proposal

Any changes or amendments to the approved proposal, which have ethical implications, must be submitted to the committee for authorisation prior to implementation.

Feedback regarding any adverse and unexpected events

Any adverse (undesirable and unintended) and unexpected events that occur during the implementation of the project must be reported to the Chair of the Social Sciences C-REC. In the event of a serious adverse event, research must be stopped immediately and the Chair alerted within 24 hours of the occurrence.

Authorised Signature	
Name of Authorised Signatory (C-REC Chair or nominated deputy)	Dr Susie Scott
Date	06/12/2010

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University of Sussex

CONFIDENTIAL

PROFORMA FOR RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW

Important:

If you have a personal, professional, or financial interest in a research proposal you have been asked to review, please advise the Research Governance Officer or Chair of the C-REC.

A. Details of Ethics Committee Member

Name of Committee Member	Susie Scott
Name of C-REC	Social Sciences

B. Research Project Details

Project title	Masorti Jewishness, Identity, and Change: Generational Difference in the Masorti (Conservative) Jewish Movement in Israel
Name of Principal investigator	Yizhar Hess

School of Principal investigator	ESW
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C. General Comments about the Project

The applicant has defined the project as low risk, and I am satisfied that is appropriate. Although the subject of religious and ethnic identity clearly has the potential to be a sensitive issue that may evoke stress or anxiety, I think this is unlikely, given that participants will be reflecting on historical shifts and social/political activism. The applicant acknowledges his biased position as Director of the Masorti Movement, but has taken sensible precautions to minimise the impact of this on interviewees' willingness to take part and/or to speak openly. Appropriate steps have been taken to safeguard anonymity and confidentiality, and more generally, the researcher has given careful considerations to the ethical implications of the study.

D. Recommended Decision		
		Please tick
1	Approved	X
2	Approved, with minor amendments or further information required (Please clearly set out your recommendations for minor amendments in Box D below.) <i>Amendments to be signed off by Chair or Committee member designated by the Chair.</i>	
3	To be reconsidered, after major revision (Please clearly set out your recommendations for major revision of the project in Box D below.) <i>Proposal to be resubmitted again for full committee review once revision has been completed.</i>	
4	Rejected, on the basis that the project raises serious ethical concerns that have not been adequately addressed in the design of the research (Please clearly set out your reasons for rejecting the project in Box D below.)	

E. Recommendations (if your decision is 2, 3 or 4 above)	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Minor amendments <input type="checkbox"/> Major revision required (please outline key points) OR <input type="checkbox"/> Reject proposal for the following reasons
a.	
b.	

c.	
d.	
e.	
f.	
g.	

F. Any further comments?

--

SIGNATURE:Susie Scott.....

DATE: 5.12.2010

Please e-mail completed form to your C-REC administrator [C-REC administrators may wish to personalise this box and add contact details.]